

WORLD HISTORY

FROM 1789 TO THE PRESENT DAY

(Being Part II of A Brief Survey of World History)

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INTRODUCTION

In part one of this book the ancient and mediæval periods were dealt with. Among the ancient civilizations, the Egyptian, Sumerian, Indus Valley and Cretan cultures were studied. In the history of India the Vedic and Epic periods, the story of Buddhism, the work of Asoka and the age of the Guptas in North India and the glorious period of Rajendra Chola and Krishnadeva Raya in South India were specially considered. In the history of Europe the political achievements of ancient Greece and Rome, the rise and spread of Christianity and the mediæval institutions like feudalism, monasticism and the Crusades were considered. These were followed by a study of the new movements of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the voyages of discovery and exploration which marked the beginning of the modern era, a new era of reason which replaced the old era of faith. In Asia the study of the rise and expansion of Islam was followed by that of the Mughals in India and Mings and Manchus in China, and the unification of Japan. The story of these new movements is carried forward in part two of this book. This largely deals with the revolutionary era begun by the French Revolution. The Age of the Benevolent Despots appears as an introduction to this study. This is followed by the nationalist movement in America, Asia and Central Europe. The nationalist movement culminated in imperialism, and imperialism in war. Two world wars have emphasised the trend towards internationalism, a brief introduction to which is contained in the remaining pages of this part.

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WORLD HISTORY FROM 1789 DOWN TO THE PRESENT

Syllabus

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2. The Revolutionary era in Europe 1789–1848. The French Revolution—Causes, course and results. Napoleon—The Congress of Vienna.

3. The development of the American colonies—The causes and course of the War of American Independence—The foundation of the U.S.A.—The Liberation of Latin America—The Civil War in the U.S.A.

4. Nationalism in the 19th century Europe—The Unification of Germany and the Unification of Italy.

5. The opening up of new continents of Africa and of Australia—The first European penetration into Africa—The Dutch and the British in South Africa—The partition Africa—The colonisation of Australia—Early problems of Australia—Australia in the World of Nations.

6. The Industrial Revolution—Causes, course and effects—The Agrarian Revolution—Causes, changes and ultimate results.

7. Modern Asia: The rise of Japan—The Russo-Japanese War—The founding of the Chinese Republic—The effects of British rule in India—The Indian National Movement—Holland and the Netherlands—East Indies, France and Indo-China—The U.S.A. and the Philippines.

8. The 20th Century World: World War I, causes and results—The Russian Revolution—The League of Nations and Fascism in Italy—The German Nazism—The Sino-Japanese War. The Second World War—Causes and course and the final outcome. The Indian Independence and after; Planned Development and Panch Shila—The free States of Asia. The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The other world powers. The United Nations Organisation and its efforts at maintaining peace.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY

Significance of 1776 and 1789 in the history of the world

The modern period in the history of the world is said to begin with the Renaissance, the Reformation, the voyages of discovery and the rise of nation-states. These happened during the 15th and 16th centuries roughly. They were undoubtedly remarkable achievements but the last two led to imperialism and colonialism abroad and monarchical despotism at home. The Renaissance and the Reformation marked an important stage in the broadening of man's intellect and understanding. This process continued later. A beginning, however, had to be made in the directions of individual liberty and self-government. The French Revolution (1789) was the clarion call of individual liberty against royal despotism. It underlined liberty and democracy against any form of autocratic or despotic rule. The American War of Independence (1776) had already knocked out British colonialism in America and encouraged elsewhere the principle of liberty, both individual and national. In fact it gave a spur to the revolutionary movement in France. The battle for self-government and against colonialism was hard and long drawn out but it won several triumphs in the 20th century. Thus the process of modernisation of the world, which began with the Renaissance, may be said to have become almost complete with the wide recognition of self-government and democracy. This will be fulfilled with the coming, in future, of the era of true internationalism.

The world in the latter half of the 17th century

The world in the latter half of the 17th century was a world of despotism at home and colonialism abroad. It

provided the background for the movements of liberty and self-government as illustrated by the French Revolution and the War of American Independence.

The leading states of Europe like France and Prussia were ruled by the 'enlightened despots', e.g., Louis XIV of France (1643-1715) and Frederick II of Prussia (1740-1786). England was under the rule of the last Stuart and early Hanoverian kings. The kings ruled despotically and gloriously at home and tried to fight successful imperial wars abroad. France and England founded their empires in America in the 17th century. The French established their first colony of Quebec in 1608 and gradually established their hold over entire Canada. The first English colony, viz., Jamestown was established in 1667 in Virginia and by 1733 the 'Thirteen Colonies' the nucleus of the U.S.A., had been planted along the Atlantic coast of North America. Central and South America had been colonised by the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the 16th century. In this and the next centuries the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and the British established their trading settlements in Southern and Western America. China and Japan were also exposed to European colonial enterprise. In 1537 the Portuguese established their first trading settlement in China at Macao, a small island off Canton. The Chinese attempted to dislodge them but failed. Similar attempts by the European commercial interests in Japan were not successful.

Monarchical despotism continued in Asia long after it had been put down in Europe. The people of Asia slowly imbibed ideas of democracy and individual liberty from the west. Throughout the medieval and early modern periods they were used to govern by kings, which was never questioned. In the latter half of the 17th century India, e.g., was under the rule of Aurangzeb, the Mughal (1659-1707).

The rule of the Manchus in China, which began in 1644 and lasted till 1911, did not record any political progress. Japan was ruled by the Divine Emperor, the Mikado. Though respected he did not enjoy real power, which lay in the hands of the feudal nobles called the Samurai. Japan was cut off from the outside world till the middle of the 19th century, when the Americans and Europeans forced her to open her sea ports to their trade.

Russia, whose territory lay both in Europe and Asia, was ruled by the Romanoffs, the greatest of whom was Peter (1689-1725). Before his accession Russia was largely Mongoloid in character, having been ruled by the Mongols in the 13th and 14th centuries. The Romanoff Ivan the Great (1462-1505), freed Moscow from the Mongols. Under Peter European civilisation was introduced. No progress was made in Russia, however, in the field of liberty or democracy. Royal despotism gave place, in the 20th century, to the dictatorship of the Communist party.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF THE BENEVOLENT DESPOTS

The period between the Reformation and the Revolution of 1789 is known in the history of Europe as the age of the Benevolent Despots. During this age absolutism of the king was popular. This was due to various causes. Feudalism had been thoroughly crushed. The power of the medieval church had been broken by the Reformation, and in the new national states the church was subordinate to the state. The kings justified their despotism by the theory of the Divine Right. God was the real king. But He established kings to be His ministers and through them ruled over all the different peoples of the earth. The king was therefore a sacred person. If the king was benevolent it was the good fortune of his subjects. Or if he was a tyrant God was only punishing them for their sins. In any case the people's law was only obedience, for they must remember that if they raised their hands against the king they were raising their hands against God.

Some examples of the great monarchs of this period are Louis XIV of France (1643-1751), Peter the Great of Russia (1689-1725), Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-86), Charles XII of Sweden (1697-1718), Maria Theresa of Austria (1740-80), etc. Louis XIV was the grandest of them all.

Policy of the Benevolent Despots

The policy of the Benevolent Despots has been called a 'family policy.' That is, each king regarded his country as his private estate and carried out its government and foreign policy as if they were his own family affairs. The king tried to safeguard his estate and if possible to expand it by making war upon his neighbours. Territorial aggrandize-

ment, and no longer religion, became the main cause of war. The government of each country was centralised and presided over by the king. Each king maintained a standing army, recruited, trained and paid by the state and no longer relied upon mercenaries.

§ 1. LOUIS XIV (1643-1715)

"I shall be my own prime minister"

In 1643 Louis XIII died and his son Louis XIV, a child of five, became king of France. The Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, became regent. Mazarin was the Chief Minister. When Mazarin died in 1661 Louis announced, "In future I shall be my own prime minister." He had decided to take the government into his own hands. For fifty years he applied himself like a businessman to the task of government. He was "by far the ablest man who was born in modern times on the steps of a throne" (Lord Acton.) He regarded himself as the embodiment of the power and greatness of France and firmly believed in the Divine Right of kingship. "I am the State"—an epigram attributed to Louis XIV—sums up perfectly Louis' idea of monarchy.

Louis, the Grand Monarch

When he took over the reins of government Louis was still a youth. He was a little below middle height but well-proportioned and strikingly handsome. He was a skilful horseman and a graceful dancer. His manners were polite and he carried himself with dignity. But he loved flattery. He thought he was more accomplished in the art of war than the best of his generals.

Though not a man of deep learning, Louis had a real liking for learned men. He surrounded himself with the wealthiest nobles and great men of learning—poets,

dramatists and philosophers. In his reign there was a greater development of literature, painting and architecture. He organised the finances and administration of his country and directed its foreign policy in such a way that he became the model of what a king should be and France became the best example of a well governed country.



Louis XIV

Louis XIV loved pomp and pleasure. He spent royally the enormous wealth inherited from his predecessors. He built the three grand palaces of Versailles, St. Germain and St. Cloud. The palace of Versailles, was built at a cost of £ 40,000,000 by thousands of men in the course of many years. Here about 15,000 titled courtiers lived in gaiety, extravagance and idleness.

Government of Louis XIV

Centralization of authority

The king himself was the centre of government. The States-General (the French parliament) was almost dead. The entire administration was carried on by Secretaries of State who were under the control of the king. The most famous secretary of Louis XIV was Colbert.

The work of Colbert

Jean Colbert had served Mazarin in various capacities and became Chief Financier under Louis XIV. He first turned his attention to the collection of taxes. He knew that the collectors of taxes were mostly dishonest and deceived the king of his dues. He established rigid supervision and

punished corrupt collectors in a relentless manner. Thus he increased the amount of revenue that actually flowed into the royal treasury. He introduced the budget system and balanced income and expenditure. Secondly, he greatly encouraged trade. He helped the French merchants and the French products by taxing the imports from foreign countries. His object was to make France a self-supporting and manufacturing country. He founded the French East India Company in 1664. Thirdly, Colbert built warships for France and repaired the old harbours. Fourthly, he encouraged the arts by founding the Academies of Architecture, Science and Music. Lastly, strict justice was established. Under his inspiration Louis issued a series of ordinances for dealing with civil and criminal cases. In this code Louis defined the legal procedure and controlled the legal system of France until it was replaced by the Code of Napoleon. Colbert did many other good things for France. He laid good roads in the place of the old Roman roads. He excavated a network of canals all over the country, the most important of them being the Languedoc Canal, 162 miles long.

Persecution of the Huguenots

Louis XIV wanted to make Roman Catholicism the one uniform religion of France. He ordered that all Protestants should become Catholics. When they refused he began to use force. He issued a series of ordinances curtailing the liberties of the Huguenots. They were excluded from public services and schools. Their churches were closed down and they were persecuted in various ways. Many Huguenots left the country, choosing to forsake their homes rather than their religion. As a result France lost many thousands of her most valuable citizens employed in such professions as banking, trade and industry. The Huguenots carried their arts and crafts to the neighbouring Protestant countries,

viz., Holland, England and Prussia. Many of the industries established by the efforts of Colbert perished.

Foreign Policy of Louis XIV

His wars

Louis XIV wanted to conquer the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) and the Dutch Republic (Holland). In this aim he nearly succeeded. But his success caused alarm in the minds of neighbouring kings and he became involved in further wars, which humbled France and took away much of the glory won by him earlier.

Louis XIV first turned his attention to the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium). But after an initial victory he withdrew and concluded peace.

He next invaded Holland and conquered the whole country except Amsterdam. William III, the king of Holland, decided to hold Amsterdam at any cost. He cut off the dykes and allowed the country to be flooded. Louis was forced to withdraw. He found the war very expensive to continue, and concluded the treaty of Nimwegen with the Dutch, by which he returned to Holland all her territory.

In 1683 Louis attacked and captured the Palatinate, a German principality. Thereupon the European powers consisting of England, Holland, the Empire, Spain and Brandenburg as well as Sweden and Denmark joined together to wage war against France. This alliance is known as the League of Augsburg. Though Louis was generally successful in this war, which went on for nine years, it resulted in a great drain upon the royal treasury. His financial position consequently became so alarming that Louis was forced to accept the proposals for peace. Accordingly the Peace of Ryswick (1697) brought the war to an end. France relinquished all her gains since 1678 excepting Alsace and

Strausburg. Louis acknowledged William as king of England*

Four years later Louis once again roused against himself the enmity of Europe in what is known as the War of the Spanish Succession. Charles II of Spain (1665-1700) had no children. He had two sisters. The elder, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV, while the younger Margaret Theresa, had married Emperor Leopold I. Thus Louis and the emperor were rival claimants to the Spanish throne. Charles II made a will leaving Spain and all her possessions to Philip of Anjou, Louis' grandson. Soon after this Charles died (1700). Encouraged by the will, Louis at once proclaimed his grandson, Philip of Anjou, king of Spain. He did not stop with that. In 1701 he declared that Philip's succession to the Spanish throne did not in any way impair his right to the French throne. The European powers, particularly the Emperor, dreaded a union of France and Spain. Secondly, the same year he publicly acknowledged the Stuart Pretender James III as king of England in violation of the Peace of Ryswick. He also threatened Holland. William III of England sent John Churchill, the duke of Marlborough, to form an alliance with Holland and the Empire against France. And so began the war (1708-13).

The Duke of Marlborough defeated the armies of Louis XIV first in Germany at Blenheim (1704), then in Belgium at Ramillies (1706) and at Oudenarde (1701).

France 1708-9

After the defeat at Oudenarde Louis XIV grew desperate and was prepared to make peace under any conditions. The financial strain had reached the breaking point. Taxes

*In 1668 the people of England had offered the throne to William III of Holland.

had been levied to the maximum extent. The great armies of France had been vanquished and their veterans discredited. To add to this misery there was an abnormally severe winter in 1708-9. Louis opened peace negotiations in 1709 at the Hague but the Allies rejected the proposals or else made extravagant demands. They wanted him to remove his grandson from the Spanish throne. Rising to noble heights under adverse conditions, Louis prepared to raise a new army by selling in public his jewels and priceless art collection. The French people rallied round him as their true king and offered their money and jewels. An army of 100,000 men was put on the field and sent to Belgium. But this army was defeated at Malplaquet (1709).

The peace of Utrecht, 1713

In 1713 plenipotentiaries from various nations assembled in a Congress at Utrecht (in Holland) and arrived at the following terms of peace :

(1) Philip V was acknowledged as king of Spain and the West Indies, without any right over the French throne.

(2) As in the Treaty of Ryswick, Louis XIV again promised not to support the Stuarts. Accordingly, he recognized the Protestant succession in Great Britain (William III and Anne).

(3) England received Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay from France, and Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain.

(4) By a separate treaty Britain got from Spain the right of supplying the Spanish colonies with negro slaves.

The treaty of Utrecht is one of the great landmarks in British history. From it Britain emerged as the first power in Europe. France was humbled. Her internal situation was causing anxiety and she could no longer play a leading part in Europe. Her place was taken by England. By

gaining Gibraltar, Minorca and the North American colonies of France, England laid the foundations of her sea power in the Mediterranean and her empire in America. France emerged from the war thoroughly exhausted. Her financial position was crippled.

3.2. FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA (1740-36;

The Prussian Monarchy

Frederick William (1713-40)

Prussia grew from the small Principality of Brandenburg in Germany and blossomed into the German empire. The Prussian monarchs were noted for their ruthless efficiency and despotism. The first Prussian king Frederick William I (1713-40) was typical of the others. He was well known as the Sergeant King. Under him the power of the Prussian monarchy went up by leaps and bounds. His one object was the development of his kingdom as a great military power. He cut down his expenditure to the extent of meanness. He dismissed his courtiers. "Work and save for your country" was his motto. Now and then the king was seen in the streets of Berlin, with a cane in his hand, angrily beating loungers and others who, he thought, were not attending to their business. No criticism was tolerated. "We remain king and master and we do what we like," he said. There was absolutely no place for individual liberty or parliamentary government. The state personified in the king was supreme. The entire state was administered by royal officials, poorly paid, strictly watched and mercilessly punished in case of offence. He levied one uniform tax which was collected without exception. He founded more than one thousand schools and made elementary education compulsory. All the money that he saved through frugality he lavished on his army. At his accession the army num-

bered 38,000 men. By 1739 it had reached 84,000. More than its size, the army was noted for its deadly efficiency. Himself an ideal drill sergeant, he reviewed and disciplined his troops to perfection. He paid scrupulous attention to the appearance of his soldiers. His agents picked up at any price tall and well-built men from all parts of Europe to enlist in his famous Potsdam Guards. Discipline in peace time was stricter than that in war time and breaches were punished by flogging and shooting. He treated even his children cruelly, particularly his eldest son, the future Frederick the Great.

Frederick II, the Great, 1740-86

Frederick II, the son of Frederick William I, was the greatest of the Prussian monarchs. He was "the most consummate practical genius that, in modern times, has inherited a throne." As a boy Frederick loved leisure and solitude and so every one expected that he would blossom into an artistic and peace-loving monarch. But he straight-away embarked on war, which he zealously pursued for the most part of his reign.

Liberal Home policy

War did not prevent Frederick II from doing the best for his people. Efficient administration was his strongest point. A thoroughly organized bureaucracy carried on the government in various departments. Under his personal supervision marshes were drained, forests cleared and canals excavated. He distributed corn, oxen, and sheep to the peasants. He encouraged colonisation and many foreign craftsmen were settled in Prussia, Pomerania and Magdeburg. Many new industries, e.g., silk, velvet and linen, were started. Mining of lead and iron was undertaken. The Common law was codified and torture abolished. Complete religious toleration was offered to all settlers. "If the

Turks should come to populate the land” said the king, “I myself shall build them mosques.” The king was fond of the company of polished gentlemen: He was a great admirer of France and everything French. He adopted the French language for his court and the majority of his friends were Frenchmen, *e.g.*, Voltaire, the French philosopher.

Conquest of Silesia from the Empire

The Seven Years' War 1756-63

In 1740 Frederick II suddenly attacked and occupied Silesia, which was a wealthy province of the Austrian empire. With a view to recover Silesia, Maria Theresa, the Austrian Empress concluded an alliance with France. Britain which was waging a world wide struggle with France for empire, took the opposite side and joined Prussia. Russia and Sweden joined the side of Austria and France and so began the Seven Years' War (1756-63).

Frederick II gained some initial victories. Meanwhile France invaded Prussia from the west ; the Austrians invaded Silesia; the Russians marched into East-Prussia, and an army from Sweden landed in Pomerania. It was a dark hour for Prussia. But Frederick II fought his enemies individually and defeated all of them except Russia. England helped Prussia with large subsidies.

A change of fortune now set in. In the great battle of Kunersdorf (1759) the Russians defeated Frederick II and advanced on Berlin. In 1760 the worst happened. The Austrians and Russians occupied Berlin and throughout 1761 they went on occupying other Prussian territories. Frederick II was at his wit's end. The best part of his army had disappeared. His treasury had become empty. The same year (1761) Britain withdrew her help. Even such a strong

man as Frederick II for a time thought of suicide. Nothing but a fortunate accident could save Prussia and that occurred in 1762. In that year the Russian queen Elizabeth, a strong-minded woman and a personal enemy of Frederick II, died and was succeeded by Peter III, a weak-minded man and an admirer of the Prussian monarch. He wanted to befriend Frederick and with his help set out on a career of conquest. "Frederick and Peter," he said "together will conquer the world." He at once made peace with Prussia. France and England now concluded the Peace of Paris (1763). It was a triumph for England. The war thus came to an end. Maria Theresa's object of winning back Silesia was defeated.

Frederick and Louis

Prussia came out of the Seven Years' War in glorious colours. She was the wonder of Europe. Her system of civil and military government that was able to withstand the shocks of 1761 became the talk of the European statesmen. Many who had been her enemies began to imitate her system. Frederick II became the model Enlightened Despot of the eighteenth century. His despotism was different from that of Louis XIV in many respects. Louis developed and maintained a despotism in his own name but Frederick evidently identified himself with the state. With Frederick there was no pomp or ceremonial in which Louis revelled. He himself worked hardest for the state, as its first servant. Welfare of the state was his one guiding factor, his one religion. But Louis neither considered himself as a servant of the state nor did he avoid doing things which, while agreeable to his whims, were palpably detrimental to his country.

After the conclusion of peace, till his death in 1786, Frederick did not engage himself in another war. He devoted all his energies to the task of rebuilding the economy

of war-torn Prussia. Agriculture and commerce were actively encouraged and the visible effects of state-aid were quickly realised.

§ 3. PETER THE GREAT OF RUSSIA, (1689-1725)

The Russian kings

The original inhabitants of Russia were the Slavs. In 865 the Danes or Norsemen under Rurik conquered the Slavs and established a kingdom. The ruling family was converted to Christianity in 988. In the thirteenth century Russia fell a prey to the onslaughts of the Tartar or Mongol hordes under Chengiz Khan (1162-1227). They overran Central Asia and China and then poured into Russia. The house of Rurik was re-established by Ivan III (1440-1505) who liberated his country from the Mongols. Like the Prussian kings the Russian king too followed a ruthless policy of crushing all opposition. Ivan IV (1530-44) *e.g.*, earned the appellation 'the Terrible,' by reason of his barbarous punishments. His blows fell with the greatest severity on the nobles. He was eager to have trade relations with western Europe. But it was difficult because Russia was blocked by Poland and Sweden on the Baltic side and by the Turks on the Black Sea side. Archangel on the Arctic sea coast was the only port of Russia, but it was ice-bound for nine months in the year.

Ivan's object of bringing Russia into the fold of western European civilisation could not succeed because the country stood almost in isolation. When he died the Russians were still Mongol in their manner and dress. They put on turbans and flowing robes and imitated the Asiatics in many other ways.

Peter the Great, 1689-1725

The man who opened the eyes of Europe in the direction of Russia was Peter the Great. He was even more cruel

than Ivan the Terrible. He was a veritable fiend to all those who crossed his path. He had his only son Alexis most pitilessly flogged to death (1718) for having dared to oppose his will. After the suppression of a certain revolt he had a thousand men killed and two thousand more ruthlessly tortured with the knout (a deadly scourge). Often he used to give himself up to wine and women for days on end, but this was only one side of his character. On the other side, he was a bright and delightful man and a boon companion to many. He was very tall (seven feet), strong as an ox and brave as a lion. He was honest and true to his word, a very good friend but a devilish enemy.

Domestic policy

Aims

As *Czar, Peter had five aims ; (1) the exaltation of the authority of the monarchy, (2) the creation of a regular army of the European type, (3) the establishment of a suitable harbour, (4) the adoption of western civilisation, and (5) the promotion of industry and commerce.

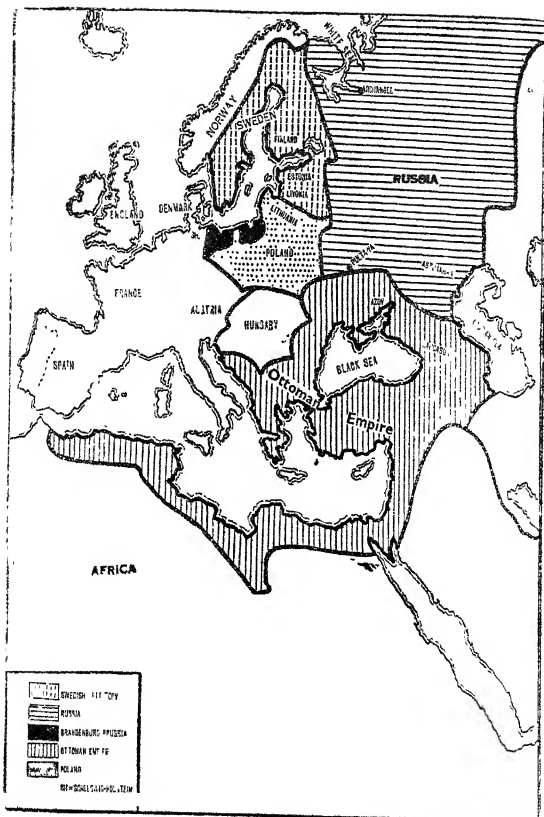
The Nobles

Peter knew that the aristocracy was the root cause of trouble and he reduced the nobles to utter subjection. He put an end to the *strel'tsi* or the royal bodyguard, who were a set of indolent, incapable and highly privileged soldiers of noble birth. Their rebellion was put down with the utmost cruelty, a thousand of them being slaughtered.

Centralised administration

Peter was the real founder of the czardom. He dismissed the Council of Boyars (nobles) or the Duma. The central government was divided into ten departments, each

* Caesar = Czar = Kaiser



Russia at the accession of Peter the Great

in charge of a secretary and the empire was divided into eight provinces (1708), each under a governor assisted by an elected council. Each governor was directly responsible to the Czar. Control of the church was also placed in the hands of the Czar. As for local government, each town had an elected council and these town councils were controlled by a chief magistrate nominated by the Czar.

Army

Peter chose Patrick Gordon, a Scotsman, as his military adviser. Under his guidance the *streltsi* were replaced by a regular army of the European pattern. The motley hosts that were raised for war now gave place to an efficient standing army. He compelled the nobles to enlist themselves in the army.

"Window to the west"

With the help of this army Peter twice attacked Azov, a Turkish stronghold on the Black Sea (1695 and 1696)*. The first expedition was a failure. In the first months of 1696 Peter prepared a small fleet and entered Azov, by sailing through the Don, and Azov surrendered. The Russian army made its triumphal entry into Azov with the generals at the head and Peter with his pike following them like a common soldier. Russia at last gained a useful port.

Europeanisation

In the meanwhile Peter, who was eager to introduce the western civilisation into Russia, determined to go to Europe and see for himself the wonders of that civilisation. He visited England, France, Holland and Germany, in the disguise of a common sailor. In Holland the Czar worked as

*Peter joined the Holy League of Venice, Poland and the Empire in their war against the Turks (1684-99).

a labourer in the dockyards of Amsterdam. In England too he passed most of his time in the dockyards and workshops. When he returned to Russia he brought with him hundreds of artisans from England and Germany to help him construct bridges, ships and canals. Iron, leather and cloth industries were started. A commercial treaty with France was concluded.

Peter wanted to change the entire face of Russia. At the close of the seventeenth century Moscow was still an oriental city, huge, turreted and crowded. Its churches were mosques with the Cross instead of the Crescent. It was an emporium for Asia rather than Europe, visited by the slow-moving caravans from Arabia and Turkey. Its men were illiterate and superstitious. They wore long beards and loose flowing skirts. Its women were shut up in their houses and never appeared in public. Peter realising that the introduction of western education would be the best means of introducing western civilisation, established elementary and technical schools all over the country and founded the Academy of Sciences. Mathematics, navigation, geography, ethics, politics, French, German and European dancing were the new subjects taught. He simplified the alphabet. The Russians stuck to the habit of growing long beards with all the force of age-long custom and the sanctions of the church. A shorn head was considered irreligious and indecent. Peter struck against this superstition with all his might and in his own way. On the day after his return from his first European tour, † when the chief men of the Czardom were all assembled round his hut outside Moscow, he emerged with a large pair of scissors and deliberately clipped off the beards and moustaches of his chief boyars. Then he issued an *ukase* (royal order) levying a graduated tax on beards. He

* Peter undertook two European tours, 1697-98 and 1716-17.

forbade the habit of falling on knees before the Czar and discouraged the seclusion of women. Another *ukase* directed that all houses were to be built of brick instead of wood. In 1763 he began building St. Petersburg completely on the European model. Complete religious toleration was given to all religious sects. The old calendar was replaced by the Christian calendar with the year beginning from 1 January.

Foreign policy

The Great Northern War

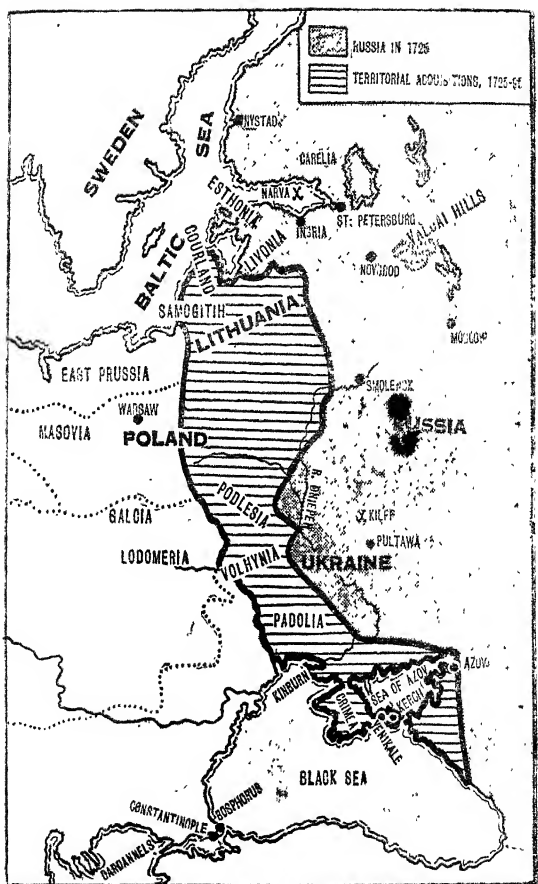
and the conquest of the Baltic coast

Peter did not rest content with opening a window on the Black Sea. But he wanted to open another window on the Baltic giving a closer view of the west. But he could not do it because the Baltic coast belonged to Sweden. In the year 1696 Poland, Denmark and Russia combined against Sweden. Russia wanted the Baltic canal. Poland and Denmark wanted to have for themselves Livonia (Latvia) and Schleswig-Holstein respectively, both of which belonged to Sweden.

Charles XII of Sweden immediately prepared for war. He gathered his army in 1700 and landed in Denmark. Copenhagen was forced to surrender. The king of Denmark came to terms. Then he defeated the Russian army of 60,000 at Narva, on the south coast of the Gulf of Finland. He next turned upon Poland and occupied Warsaw in 1702.

St. Petersburg, 1703

In the meanwhile Peter the Great, not accepting the battle of Narva as final, had overrun, between 1702 and 1707, half of the Swedish provinces on the Baltic coast. There in 1703, he laid the foundations of a new capital, which he called St. Petersburg, overlooking the Baltic. Thousands of labourers toiled for years and erected building after building in the European style. Churches and



Westward expansion of Russia

stately public buildings, schools and factories, libraries and galleries of art sprang up one after another.

Charles XII, after finishing his war with Poland, marched against Russia in 1708. He directed his steps straight against Moscow but met with the same fate which Napoleon was to meet with 104 years later. Advance through marshy terrain became slow and increasingly difficult and finally he was overtaken by the terrible Russian winter. As he advanced further and further the scarcity of food and supplies became more acute and disease began to ravage the army. In June 1709 the Russian and Swedish armies met at Pultava. The hungry and sick Swedes, greatly outnumbered, were easily defeated. After the victory Peter exclaimed "At last the foundations of St. Petersburg stand firm."

The peace of Nystad, 1721

Charles XII who escaped from the field of Pultava to Turkey died in 1718. In 1721 the Swedish government of Queen Ulrica Leonora, sister and successor of Charles XII, concluded peace with Russia by the treaty of Nystad. By this treaty Russia received Livonia (Latvia) and Esthonia on the Baltic coast.

Peter was acclaimed by the Russians as the "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great and Emperor of all the Russians." As a result of his work Russia took her legitimate place among the nations of Europe. He established a strong central government, created an efficient standing army, introduced the western civilization and modernised Russia, and gave her the ports of Azov and St. Petersburg, two 'windows to the west.'

CHAPTER III

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA, 1789-1848

§ 1. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Causes of the French Revolution

The French Revolution is the name given to the violent overthrow of the French monarchy during 1789-93. The following are the causes of the French Revolution.

The unpopularity of the French monarchy after Louis XIV

The failure of Louis XIV in the War of the Spanish Succession made the French monarchy unpopular. The Seven Years' War (1756-63), fought in the reign of Louis XV (1715-74), again brought defeat and disgrace upon France. Louis XV was succeeded by his grandson Louis XVI. The new king was weak. He was a blind follower of his advisers, particularly his strong-willed and beautiful queen Marie Antoinette. The queen was the daughter of Empress Maria Theresa. She was a pleasure-loving, gay and capricious queen who took a lively interest in using her high position to reward her friends and punish her enemies.

The administrative system

The government of France was an open despotism; it had long ceased to be the efficient and benevolent despotism of Louis XIV. Under his successors it became corrupt and inefficient. The people were not prepared to allow such a despotism to continue. The will of the king embodied in his edicts, had the force of law. The king appointed and controlled the judges. The ordinary citizen had no guarantee of personal liberty; by the issue of *letters de cachet** the king could throw into prison whomsoever he pleased. The

* *i.e.*, letters under the king's private seal.

States-General, the Parliament of France, had not been summoned since 1614.

Taxation

The king levied a number of direct and indirect taxes. Almost the whole burden fell upon the lower and poorer classes. The nobles and the higher classes had been exempt from taxation from the feudal days and they continued to be so. More and more taxes were levied only upon the lower classes.

Bankruptcy of the French government

As a result of the long spell of disaster in the Spanish Succession War and the Seven Years' War the royal treasury had become empty. Louis XVI was not bold enough to tax the nobility and the clergy. Two Finance Ministers were dismissed for having dared to propose the taxation of the privileged classes. Ultimately, in August 1786, the government of France became bankrupt. Finding himself helpless Louis summoned the States-General (1789).

Class antagonism

Roughly France was divided into two classes—the privileged and the unprivileged. The clergy and the nobility were the privileged classes. They were the first two Estates. They were exempt from taxes. The middle classes or the Third Estate were the landless merchants and traders who owned much capital. The lawyers and the civil servants came from this class. They paid most of the taxes and yet the army, the navy and high public appointments were closed to them. They were the most zealous supporters of the Revolution.

The condition of the peasant

The French peasant came below the Third Estate. He was still a serf who gave some customary dues to the local

lord, e.g., a share in every harvest. To the government he rendered some customary services, like repair of the roads, etc., for which no wage was paid (*corvée*).

The propaganda of the philosophers

The great philosophers of France — Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu disliked the existing order and believed in a new future for France. They favoured revolution. Rousseau wrote a small book called *The Social Contract*. It became the “Bible of the Revolution.” In this book he declared that the people had the right to overthrow a government which was not suitable to them.

The course of the Revolution (1789-95)

The French Revolution was a bloody drama in the course of which frenzied leaders executed the king and the queen, butchered the nobles and terrorised the people. In 1789 Louis XVI summoned the States-General in the hope of getting financial help from the people. But the Third Estate of the commons at once constituted themselves into the National Assembly and demanded reforms. The Paris mobs rose at the same time and destroyed the state prison called the Bastille. The storming of the Bastille (1789) was the signal for more violence. A mob marched to Versailles and prevailed upon the king to come and live in Paris. Louis XVI could not but obey. He returned to his palace (called the Tuileries) in Paris, where he became a prisoner in the hands of his own people.

Queen Marie Antoinette, the king's brother, the Count of Artois, and other leading nobles opened secret negotiations with Austria and Prussia. This was known to the people and all their wrath now turned against the king, whom they called the ‘tyrant’ and the ‘traitor.’ They suddenly attacked the Tuileries and killed the palace guards.

The palace itself was badly damaged. In the meanwhile an Austro-Prussian army invaded France. There was great excitement among the people. The extremist leaders called the Jacobins, the chief of whom were Danton, Marat and Robespierre, took all the power into their own hands, threw Louis into the prison, declared him deposed and proclaimed a republic. Then they imprisoned thousands of people—priests, royalists, nobles and others—whom they regarded as national enemies. The prisons became full and then, in the first week of September 1792, about 1,500 of these prisoners were dragged out and coldly put to death in the streets of Paris. These massacres, known as the September Massacres, sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe.

After killing all the traitors the revolutionary leaders gathered an army of recruits and marched to meet the Austro-Prussian army. To the great surprise of the European powers, the well drilled army of the Prussians was defeated by the enthusiastic revolutionary army in the battle of Valmy (1792) fought in the north-eastern frontier of France. After this victory the leaders condemned Louis XVI as traitor and executed him (1793). Now Britain, Austria, Prussia and Spain joined together and declared war on France. The leaders now formed themselves into a Committee and began a reign of terror. Thousands of prisoners, particularly nobles, were tried and condemned to the guillotine. Marie Antoinette shared their fate in October 1793. In 1794 the Revolutionary army invaded the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and conquered Holland. Napoleon was a young recruit in this army.

In 1795 the reign of terror came to an end. In that year a republican government was set up under which the executive power was vested in a Directory of five members and the legislative power in two councils.

Effects of the French Revolution

The revolution failed in its object of establishing a republic in France. It led to the rise of Napoleon and the establishment of an empire. But it released certain forces and ideas, which have left a lasting influence on the human race. It was the trumpet call of liberty and democracy. It was the parent of many revolutions: the July Revolution and February Revolution in France (1830 and 1848) and the revolution in Latin America, Italy, and Austria (1823 and 1848). It gave to the world the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. It marked the end of absolute arbitrary monarchies and acute class differences. It encouraged the movements of religious freedom, abolition of slavery, economic equality and popular sovereignty.

§ 1. NAPOLEON

Napoleon Bonaparte was an Italian by birth. He joined the French Revolutionary army and won distinction as an artillery officer. By dint of sheer energy he rose from post to post and finally became emperor of France. His military achievements made him the idol of his subjects, and his army was considered invincible in Europe. First he overthrew the Directory of Five set up by the Republican Government and instead set up a Consulate of three, himself being the first consul. In 1802 he made himself consul for life and in 1804 emperor. Pope Pius VII himself came to Paris to preside over his coronation. The whole of France now lay at his feet and all pretence of republicanism was given up. He planned to build up a big empire. He made his brother Louis king of Holland; another brother Joseph was made king of Naples and he himself became king of Italy.

The enemies of Napoleon

The war waged by the European monarchies against the

Revolution is known as the Revolutionary War. When Napoleon took over the conduct of the war the Revolutionary War developed into the Napoleonic War. The important allies who fought against Napoleon were Austria, Prussia and Britain. Austria and Prussia tried to check Napoleon on land, and failed. Britain struck at the French maritime power; she not only succeeded, but her soldiers were able to defeat Napoleon in his own element *viz.*, land.

Napoleon's campaigns

Napoleon first crossed the Alps and defeated the army of the Austrian emperor in Italy. Next, when Britain formed an alliance with Austria, he suddenly appeared at Milan with a new army and decisively defeated the Austrians in the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden (1800), and gained for France the duchy of Tuscany in Italy. In 1802 the Peace of Amiens was concluded between Britain and France.

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was less successful. He defeated the Turks in the Battle of the Pyramids, and Cairo surrendered. But before he could consolidate his position, the British fleet under Nelson defeated the French fleet in the battle of the Nile (1798) and Napoleon barely managed to escape to France with a few followers.

His big struggle lay with Britain. In 1805 Britain formed another alliance with Austria and Russia. The French were weak on the sea, and the British fleet under Nelson inflicted a crushing defeat on France in the Battle of Trafalgar (1805). But Napoleon gained a dazzling land victory over the armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz. Russia at once withdrew from the war and Austria concluded the treaty of Pressburg. As a result of this treaty, Naples became a French dependency under his brother Joseph who

became its king. Napoleon then combined all the independent chieftaincies in Germany (about 350) into a political union of 39 states called the Confederation of the Rhine and made himself its protector. The Holy Roman Empire finally disappeared in 1866 and the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II abdicated and adopted the title of Emperor of Austria.

To overcome the British, Napoleon decided to starve the "Nation of shop-keepers" by closing the entire Continental trade with Britain. This was his "Continental System." To enforce this system, he decided to bring Prussia, Russia, the papal states, Spain and Portugal under his control. In 1806 he defeated the Prussians in the battle of Jena and occupied Berlin. Then he declared that Britain was in a state of blockade and prohibited trade between that country and France and all territory under French control. These orders were called the Berlin Decrees.

Napoleon next marched against Russia and defeated the Russian army at Friedland in June 1807, and both Prussia and Russia agreed to adhere to the Continental System. The same year he occupied Portugal. The Papal states were occupied in 1809.

In reply to the Continental System, Britain passed the "Orders in Council." By this France and all French territory were declared to be in a state of blockade and neutral countries were forbidden to trade with them. As a result both Britain and France suffered.

In 1808 Napoleon decided to annex Spain, where there was a quarrel between the King and his son Ferdinand. Napoleon forced both to abdicate and appointed his own brother Joseph as king. The Spaniards refused to accept the French yoke and rose in revolt. Britain welcomed this revolt and sent an army to help the Spaniards. The British

army under Sir Arthur Wellesley won a series of victories in Portugal. In 1812 the French were defeated at Salamanca and the British army entered Madrid, the Spanish capital. Wellesley (now made Lord Wellington) occupied soon the whole of Spain and entered France (1813). Napoleon had just then begun his campaign against Russia and so could not send any help. This was the Peninsular War.

The campaign against Russia was undertaken because Russia and Holland violated the Continental System. In 1812 Napoleon entered Russia hoping to defeat the Russian army in a decisive battle near the frontier. But he was disappointed. The Russians went on retreating, Napoleon entered Moscow and found it completely deserted. The Russians had adopted the 'scorched earth' policy and the French suffered acutely from lack of food. Moscow was burnt down by the Russians. The French army was overtaken by the terrible Russian winter. When it returned to the frontier, it consisted of only 60,000 men as against the 600,000 who had marched into Russia.

The Russian disaster gave hope to the enemies of Napoleon. In 1813 Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain joined together and defeated him in the battle of Leipzig, and in 1814 advanced on Paris. The allies entered Paris and Napoleon abdicated. He was banished to Elba, a small island between Italy and Corsica, but was allowed to retain his imperial title. He however escaped and landed in France in march 1815. The Frenchmen welcomed him back to Paris, and Louis XVIII who had been made king of France on Napoleon's abdication, fled to England.

The Hundred Days—from his escape to the battle of Waterloo—found Napoleon in hectic activity. He gathered a large army, but was defeated by the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo (18 June 1815). He abdicated and surrendered

to the British. This time he was imprisoned in St. Helena, a far-off island in the Atlantic, where he lived till his death in 1821.

France under Napoleon

When Napoleon overthrew the Directory and seized the French government the country was in urgent need of reforms on all sides. The First Consul displayed no less energy in providing France with civil reforms than in winning spectacular military victories. In fact the former entitled him to more abiding glory as the builder of modern France than the latter, which were swept away in 1815. In 1799 the First Consul found the administration of France in utter chaos. The directors had done nothing to heal the ravages of the Revolution. The finances were in great confusion. The paper money called assignats, issued at the beginning of the Revolution had lost their value. The system of taxation had broken down and no taxes were actually collected. Law and order were not strictly enforced; the church had been insulted but not organized; trade was at a stand-still. At the top of all came the heterogeneous codes of law. All this confusion was covered up by a wild enthusiasm for the Republic.

The Concordat. At the very outset Napoleon declared that his policy was to retain the best institutions of the Revolution and at the same time do away with its excesses. Thus he effected the restoration of confiscated lands to their rightful owners and permitted the exiled noble families (the *émigrés*) to return. He revived the titles of nobility under the famous Legion of Honour. He restored the old mode of address, *Monsieur* and *Madame* (given up in favour of *Citoyen* and *Citoyenne*): abolished the Revolutionary Calendar, and more important than the rest, concluded a formal treaty with the Pope, known as the *Concordat*, and thus

threw France back into the fold of the Roman church, to the delight of all Frenchmen, except perhaps the diehard Jacobins. Most of the obnoxious clauses of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1791) were withdrawn. Roman Catholicism was recognised to be the religion of a majority of Frenchmen. France was redivided into a number of bishoprics. The First Consul appointed the bishops and the Pope confirmed them; the bishops appointed the lower clergy; and all received their emoluments from the government. Freedom of worship and freedom of conscience were recognized. The alliance between the papacy and the French government based on these conditions lasted upto 1905, when the French church was disestablished.

Finance. With a view to ensure credit and help the business of the country Napoleon founded the Bank of France as a state bank and placed it under the direction of a Governor and two Vice-Governors appointed by the state. New government securities were issued. Many indirect taxes were levied and strictly collected. The duties on liquor, salt and tobacco were reimposed. The financial position of the state was always sound due to the influx of extraordinary receipts from abroad, *viz.*, war indemnities paid by conquered nations, captures, seizures etc.

The Legion of Honour. The administrative organization of France and the Empire was done by Napoleon with punctilious care. The emperor revelled in creating ennobled ministers and high officers of dignity and attaching them to himself. He elaborated a new and complicated heirarchy of nobles with numerous grades, based not on birth or wealth but on distinguished service, to himself. The new imperial heirarchy of dignitaries—the Legion of Honour—was open to officers of distinction, administrative, legal, ecclesiastical, ambassadorial and military. This institution

became very popular and a place in the Legion was much coveted.

Public works. A repair of the old Roman roads (since improved by Colbert) was seriously undertaken and 229 imperial high-roads were specified, some of them connecting Paris with distant cities like Turin, Milan, Rome and Naples. Numerous bridges and a network of canals and waterways were planned and executed. Marshes were drained and dykes strengthened. The important sea ports, both commercial and naval, were enlarged and fortified. The emperor devoted much attention to public works and art and he aimed at making Paris the metropolis of Europe. The Royal palaces of Versailles, St. Cloud, Louvre etc., which had fallen into neglect were restored and enlarged. The works of art brought from Rome, Spain and Vienna as spoils of war were displayed in the *Musee Napoleon* at the Louvre. Above the *Avenue des Champs-Elysees* he erected the vast and majestic *Arc de Triomphe*.

Industry. The Continental System deeply affected the export and import trade of France with Great Britain. France depended wholly upon Great Britain for the supply of certain manufactured goods, particularly cotton fabrics, but these were now denied to her. To make France self-sufficient in this respect Napoleon did his best to encourage the application of science to industry. He established technical schools, offered prizes to inventors, gave loans and subventions to industrialists and organized industrial exhibitions. Because sugar could not be had as a result of the British blockade the French industrialists succeeded in manufacturing sugar from beet-root. The silk industry at Lyons and the cotton industry in general made astonishing progress.

Education. Education, which was a monopoly of the church under the ancient regime, now became a business of

the state. Napoleon's aim was to "organize a teaching body on hierachical lines like that of the Jesuits of old." With this view he established the Imperial University, which controlled public instruction throughout the French Empire. It had five faculties of theology, law, medicine, science and literature. No college, secondary school or primary school could be conducted by one who was not a member of the Imperial University. The chief of the University was the Grand Master, appointed by the emperor. As a result, public instruction became regularised and uniform. The emperor also endowed many libraries and museums. As part of state control of education the theatre and the press came under strict scrutiny and censorship. The number of theatres and of printers and publishers were strictly limited; each play and each book had to be certified by censors.

Literature and Art. Napoleon was equally a patron of literature, science and art. Chateaubriand and Madame de Stael were romanticists in literature. The study of mathematics, both pure and applied, physics, chemistry, astronomy, algebra, geometry, zoology, anatomy and topography made rapid strides with the help of experiment and research. There were two schools of art, the idealistic or classical and the naturalistic or liberal; the official art under Napoleon adapted one to the other and evolved a pompous and original design. In sculpture, architecture, painting and music the Napoleonic period saw some of the best and most vigorous expositions of all time.

The Code Napoleon. Of all the reforms of Napoleon the most significant and most abiding was his codification of law. On the eve of the Revolution each district in France had its own code of laws and in all there were about 280 codes in force. The work of reducing the laws of France to one uniform code was begun by the Revolutionary

assemblies, particularly the Convention, and was completed by Napoleon. The Code Napoleon gave to the French Empire one common book of laws and one procedure. The book, "the most surprising manifestation of Napoleon's energy," still is the basis of the civil law not only in France but in several others of Europe.

Feudalism eradicated. The Code Napoleon incorporated the best democratic principles of the Revolution; it swept away all the vestiges of feudalism and the privileges of wealthy corporations like the church. All feudal dues and titles were abolished. This reform endeared the millions of peasants to the emperor and assured to him their whole-hearted support. The church lands were acquired by the state and the national lands gradually passed into the hands of cultivators piecemeal through the market. The fear that this settlement of the church lands would be undone and the property once more claimed by the church under Bourbon restoration was not a little responsible for the popularity of Napoleon during the Hundred Days.

§ 3. THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT OF 1815

The Congress of Vienna

After the final defeat of Napoleon, the representatives of the victorious countries, viz., Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia convened a Congress at Vienna for restoring peace in Europe. They made a peace which is known as the Vienna Settlement. The following are its main provisions.

France

Once again the Bourbon king (Louis XVIII) was restored to the French throne and France was reduced to her frontiers of 1792. France had to pay a war indemnity of 700,000,000 francs.

The Netherlands

Holland was created an independent kingdom under the House of Orange, and Belgium was merged into this kingdom. From Austria, Belgium now passed on to Holland.

The Scandinavian states

Denmark was friendly with Napoleon. Hence Norway, which formed part of the Danish kingdom from the fourteenth century, was taken away from her and united with Sweden. Sweden parted with Finland, which was handed over to Russia.

Switzerland and Italy

The Swiss federal constitution of Napoleon was confirmed and Switzerland was declared an independent republic. In Italy the kingdom of Tuscany, the papal states and the kingdom of Naples were revived and restored their independence.

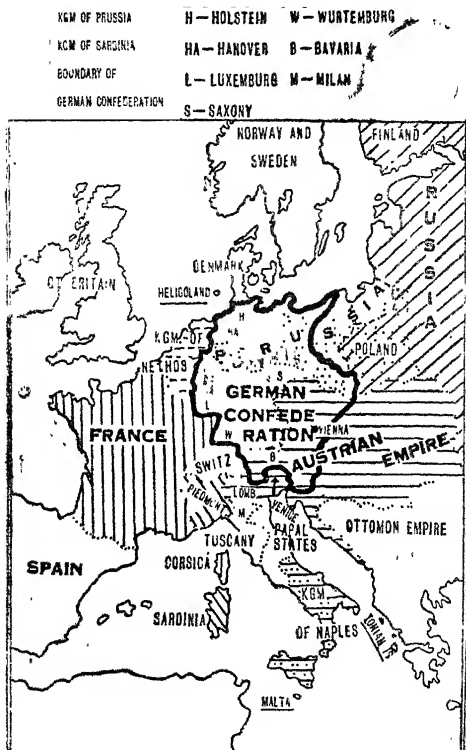
The German Confederation

Napoleon had abolished the Holy Roman Empire and created in its stead a strong union known as the Confederation of the Rhine consisting of thirty-nine states. The Congress maintained the Confederation, but it was a loose union placed under Austrian leadership. The rulers of the thirty-nine states reserved full freedom of action within their respective dominions. They sent representatives to a Diet at Frankfurt, which simply discussed matters of common interest without making any laws. Thus the unity of the Confederation was lost.

Spain, Portugal, Britain

The Bourbon rule in Spain was restored and the king of Portugal once again returned to rule over his kingdom. Britain had conquered most of the overseas possessions of

France, Spain, Holland and Denmark. A great part of these were restored but Britain retained the following : Malta, the Ionian Isles, the French and Spanish West Indian Islands, (British) Guiana, Cape Colony, Ceylon, Mauritius, etc.



The Vienna Settlement, 1815

Criticism of the Settlement

The Congress of Vienna simply tried to restore Europe to the pre-revolutionary conditions. It restored all the old unpopular monarchies on the principle of legitimacy and adjusted boundaries without consulting popular or national sentiment. Its policy was reactionary. Since it disregarded nationalism, the peace which it established did not last long. Belgium (Catholic) was united with Holland (Protestant); Norway, which had close affinities with Denmark for long was united with Sweden with which it had nothing in common. The Belgians did not like Dutch rule and they ultimately revolted in 1830. The Norwegians did not take to Swedish rule easily and they achieved their independence in 1905. They then chose the Prince of Denmark as their king.

The Results of the French Revolution

With the European settlement of 1815 it must not be thought that the Revolution came to its logical end. The meteoric rise of Napoleon was but one aspect, the political aspect, of the Revolution. The Revolution wrought a thorough change in "art and thought and life, of which we are all the children."

Firstly, the Revolution swept away the last vestiges of medievalism in Europe. The Bourbon type of monarchy in France and the obscurantist regimes in Italy and Germany, which were acting as stumbling blocks to a reconstruction of Europe, were removed.

Secondly, it established the principle of nationality. It was said above that Napoleon's victories were partly due to the sense of French nationalism and that it was the same sense of nationalism that he encountered in Spain, Prussia and Russia. Napoleon ignored this principle of nationality and regarded nations merely as territorial districts, which

could be transferred to any authority. The Congress of Vienna too ignored this principle in 1815 and the history of Europe after this date has been the story of the growth of nations. "From instinct " nationalism "became an idea ; from idea, abstract principle ; then fervid prepossession ; ending where it is today in dogma, whether accepted or evaded." (Morley).

Thlrldy, it also established the principle of the sovereignty of the people which is the essence of democracy. It marked the end of the Age of the Enlightened Despot and the beginning of the Age of the People, the age of national democracies. Henceforth the representative democracy of the British type became popular and was copied in almost all countries.

Fourthly, it gave the final blow to feudalism. Serfdom disappeared and with it the claim of a few for exclusive social privileges. The doctrine that in the eyes of law all men are equal (Rousseau) was gradually recognized on all hands and the principle of individual liberty was evolved.

Fifthly, it led to the various humanitarian movements of the nineteenth century. Once the ideas of democracy and individual liberty took root into men's minds, the injustice of slave trade, sweated labour, ill-treatment of prisoners, persecution of the Jews, religious intolerance, mass illiteracy etc. were realised and various proposals for the abolition of slavery, labour legislation, prison reform, Jewish and Catholic emancipation, national education, freedom of speech and of the press etc. were made and gradually adopted as law.

Lastly, it led to the Romantic Revival in literature. In the nineteenth century poets and prose writers revolted against the ceremonialism of the eighteenth century and adopted a simple and natural style of treatment. Wordsworth and Coleridge, Byron and Shelley, Fox, Burke and

Tom Paine were English men of letters who were influenced by the Revolution. Goethe (1749-1832) and Schiller (1759-1805) in Germany and Victor Hugo in France gave the best expression to the Romantic Revolt. The creative movements of the eighteenth century in art, literature, science and music were intimately connected with the French Revolution and breathed the song of liberty.

§ 4. LATER REVOLUTIONS IN FRANCE

The July Revolution, 1830

Louis XVIII (1814-24) who was made king of France by the Treaty of Vienna, was a well intentioned Bourbon monarch. He issued a *Charter* which set up a Parliament of the British type, declared all Frenchmen equal in the eyes of law, and guaranteed personal liberty. But after his death in 1824 the position was reversed. Charles X (1824-30), his brother, abolished all free and popular institutions won in the Revolution and guaranteed by the *Charter*. He imposed a strict censorship of the press, limited the franchise to the wealthy few and deprived the Parliament of the right of making laws. These measures provoked the citizens of Paris and on 26th July 1830 huge processions of students and workers passed through the streets of Paris shouting "Long live the *Charter*!", "Long live the Republic!" Two days later there was a more serious tumult and the mobs raised the ominous cries of "Death to the Ministers," "Death to the King" and Charles, afraid of his life, abdicated in favour of his cousin Louis Philippe and retired to England.

Louis Philippe (1830-48) had very liberal ideas of monarchy. He promised to observe the democratic constitution of the *Charter*, gave up the flag of the Bourbon in favour of the flag of the Republic, and called himself the king of the French, and not king of France. He adopted a policy of peaceful economic development, and filled the land

with railways and telegraphs. Yet, another Revolution was in the offing.

The February Revolution, 1848

The chief cause of the Revolution of 1848 was the discontent felt by the workers of France. They demanded more social amenities and representation in the legislature. The king and his minister, who stuck to the constitution, refused to allow any extension of the franchise or give representation to the workers in the legislature.

On 23rd February 1848 the soldiers fired upon a crowd of socialist agitators in Paris and many died. The next day there was a riot and the whole of Paris was in the hands of the workers. Louis Philippe could have suppressed the rising but he chose to abdicate and fled to England. At once a republic (the second) was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government manned by the extremists was established. This government started at enormous cost National Workshops in Paris, where all able-bodied workmen could exercise their 'right to work.' Gangs of unskilled labourers poured into Paris from all over the country and by the end of April 1848 more than 150,000 men 'worked' in the National Workshops and each received a 2 francs wage every day.

In May 1848 the National Assembly was elected. It contained a majority of moderates, with whom the workers disagreed. The Assembly enrolled troops in its defence and a free fight ensued between the government and the workers. Between 23 and 25 June 10,000 men were stretched dead in the streets of Paris. After this horrid massacre the power of the extremist workers was broken and the National Assembly became supreme.

In November the new constitution was proclaimed. There was to be a unicameral legislature elected by universal manhood suffrage. A President elected for a term of

four years was to be the supreme executive. In December the Presidential election took place and to the surprise of all, Prince Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great Napoleon, swept the polls.

President Louis Napoleon declared himself Emperor Napoleon III in 1852, when his presidentship ended. Thus came into existence the Second French Empire which came to an end in 1870 and the Third Republic was established in 1875.

CHAPTER IV

THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMERICAS

§ 1. THE RISE OF THE U.S.A.

The thirteen colonies

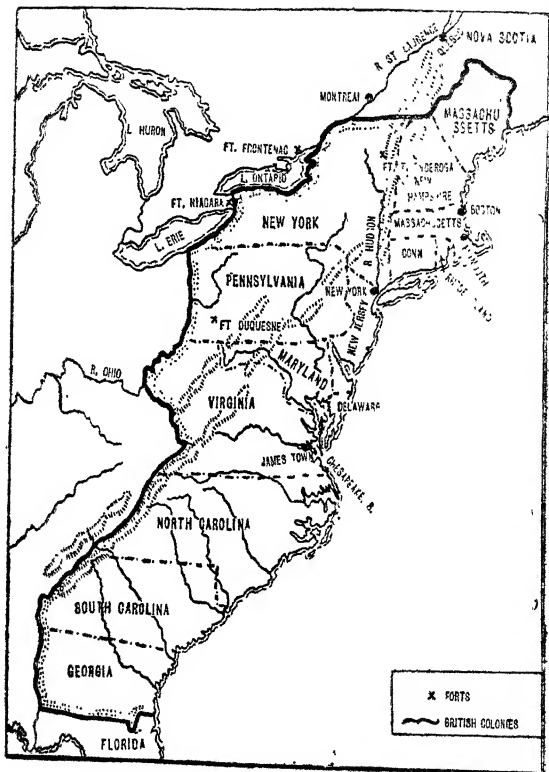
Between 1607 and 1733 the British planted thirteen colonies along the Atlantic seaboard of North America. These were Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. The colonies were gradually developing both industrially and agriculturally. The northern colonies specialised in industries while the southern ones specialised in agriculture, particularly tobacco cultivation. North of these colonies the French had occupied Canada and in the south Mexico was occupied by the Spaniards.

The War of American Independence, 1773-83

Causes

Many of the American colonists were Puritans, who had fled from religious persecution in England. They did not like British rule. Secondly, Britain was using her colonies in America for her own economic advantage. The colonies were not permitted to have trade with countries other than Britain. They were being used as a market for British goods. This policy, known as Mercantilism, was hated by the colonists.

In 1765 the British government passed the Stamp Act, imposing a stamp duty on all legal documents registered in the colonies. The Americans regarded it as a tax and refused to accept the Act. They raised the cry "No taxation without representation," i.e., "the British Parliament does not represent America, and so it cannot tax the Americans." When the Act was passed riots broke out in America.



The thirteen colonies

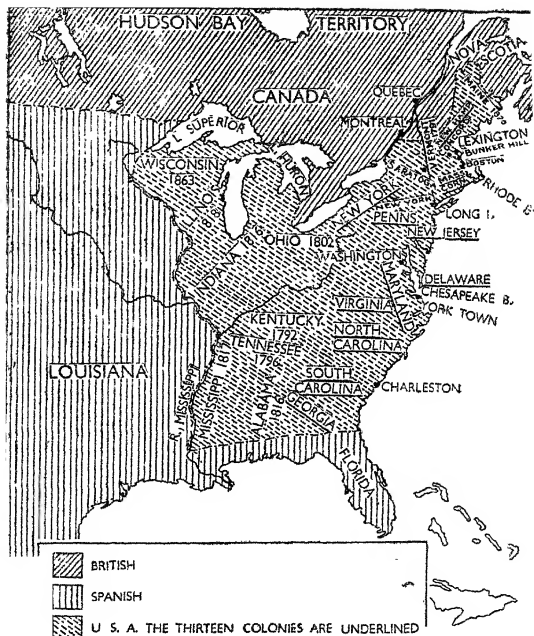
A governor's house was looted and effigies of stamp collectors were burnt. In 1776 the British government withdrew the Act.

In 1767 Britain levied a tax on tea, glass and paper entering American ports. Again there was a storm of protest and in 1769 the tax on glass and paper was removed. The tea duty, however, was retained. In 1773 some Americans disguised as Red Indians boarded the tea ships of the East India Company which arrived at the harbour of Boston (Massachusetts), and threw forty chests of tea into the sea. This act of lawlessness known as the Boston Tea party, was received with great rage in England. The British government at once adopted strong retributory measures. British troops were quartered in Boston and the port was closed to all trade. The colony of Massachusetts was placed under military rule.

The War

Representatives of the colonies met in a series of Congress at Philadelphia to consider measures for the achievement of freedom. King George III of England had decided to put down the rebels by force and teach the colonists a lesson. In 1776 the Congress declared the colonies completely independent. George Washington was appointed as general and commander-in-chief of the American army. He commanded the goodwill of all his countrymen and possessed great courage and an inflexible will. The British commander was Sir William Howe.

In 1776 Howe defeated Washington in the battle of Brooklyn and took New York and New Jersey. But at Saratoga (1777) the British suffered a severe defeat. Saratoga was a turning point in the fortunes of the American war. France at once decided to espouse the cause of the Americans. In 1778 she declared war on Britain. In 1779 Spain



The War of American Independence and the rise of U.S.A.

joined France and America, and the British possessions in the Mediterranean, *viz.*, Gibraltar and Minorca were attacked by the Franco-Spanish navy. In 1780 Holland joined the allies and Britain was forced to wage a big maritime war to defend her empire.

In 1780 Cornwallis, the British general, won a number of battles in North and South Carolina. But he suffered from want of reinforcements. In 1781 he retired to Yorktown on the Virginian coast, expecting help from the British fleet. But to his surprise a French fleet came and blockaded Yorktown from the sea. On land the town was closely besieged by Washington. No relief came and the British surrendered in October 1781. With the surrender of Yorktown the war in America came to an end. By the First Treaty of Versailles (1783) Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States of America.

The expansion of the United States.

In 1789 the colonies framed a federal constitution and called themselves the United States of America. Washington was elected the first President. Throughout the nineteenth century the United States expanded westward, and state after state was admitted into the Union. Today the U.S.A. consists of fifty states.

§ 2. LATIN AMERICA

Central America and South America are together known as Latin America as they were colonised by the Spaniards and the Portuguese belonging to the Roman or Latin races. The whole of Latin America belonged to Spain except Brazil which was Portuguese, and the British, Dutch and French districts of Guiana.

Spain sent out Viceroy to govern the provinces of her vast empire in Latin America. The business of the Viceroy was only to see that the colonies were used to the fullest benefit of the mother country. The empire was simply regarded as a source of supply of gold and silver and a market for Spanish goods. The Americans were prohibited from making anything which was produced in Spain, and they were not allowed to trade with any country other than Spain. Nothing was done to promote agriculture or any form of industry. The Spaniards, however, did not ill-treat the people.

The Latin Americans were contented under Spanish rule but the American and the French Revolutions of the eighteenth century stirred in them the desire to throw off the Spanish yoke.

Simon Bolivar

Simon Bolivar has been well called the George Washington of the war of South American independence. He was born of a noble Spanish family in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. He had his education in Europe and lived in Paris during the last days of the Revolution. In Venezuela he raised an army and made himself supreme. Then he proceeded to Colombia and reduced Bogota. The Spanish king, in the meanwhile, sent General Morillo with 10,000 troops to re-establish his authority in South America (1815). A series of engagements followed and in 1816 Morillo occupied New Granada and executed many colonists as traitors. But a determined war against royalist advance was made by Bolivar in the north and by San Martin in the South. Under the leadership of San Martin, Argentine and Chile declared their independence. Under the leadership of Bolivar, not only Venezuela but Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru



Latin America

attained their independence. The life of Bolivar is filled with glorious triumphs and hair-breadth escapes.

The Republics

By 1825 the Spanish hold over Latin America had entirely ceased. In the place of the Spanish viceroyalties in South America there arose the following ten independent republics : Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia (called after Bolivar), Paraguay, Chile, Argentine and Uruguay. In central America a group of small states was formed—Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and Salvador. Mexico became independent in 1821. Brazil, the huge colony of Portugal in South America, became independent in 1899 and declared herself a republic.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1823

Spain tried to get the help of Austria when the South American colonies declared their independence. England was interested in the trade with the revolting colonies of Spain and she opposed a restoration of Spanish rule over South America. The British Foreign Minister Canning negotiated with President Monroe of the United States and the result was the famous declaration of Monroe in 1823, forbidding foreign intervention in the American continent. "The United States," declared President Monroe "would consider any attempt on the part of the European powers to extend their (colonial) systems to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Britain agreed to help the U.S.A. with the fleet, if necessary, to keep out foreign domination. The Monroe Doctrine assured the independence of the young republics of South America and enhanced the prestige of the U. S. A. She became the guardian of the liberty of the Americas.

§ 3. CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA

Causes of the civil war

Fundamental causes

The civil war in America (1861-5) fought between the northern and the southern states of the U.S.A., broke out over the question of slavery. But it had deeper causes.

Differences of character and occupation

From the very beginning there was a fundamental difference in the character of the states. The northern states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire were, to begin with, colonies of Puritan exiles from England. But the southern states like Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina and South Carolina were not Puritan colonies. They were aristocratic colonies whose members wanted to make money by means of tobacco plantations. The south was agricultural while the north specialised in manufactures.

The tariff issue

The manufacturing northerners wanted to protect their own industrial products from external competition and so they demanded the levy of import duties or tariff. The southerners, who were not interested in manufactures, wanted their manufactured goods cheap, and opposed protection and tariff. In the teeth of southern opposition a Tariff Bill was passed in 1814.

The landholding and banking issues

The northerners wanted that public lands should be distributed among all settlers so that each citizen could purchase for himself a farm according to his means. "Vote yourself a farm" was a popular cry. The southerners loved to hold huge farms and opposed redistribution. Again, the commercially minded northerners wanted a safe and efficient

national banking system. But the southerners were opposed to all centralised banking. In this way many differences and jealousies lay between the northern and the southern states. Underlying them all was the vexed question of slavery.

The slavery issue

A feeling against slavery existed in America even before she became independent. After the American revolution Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey adopted gradual abolition laws and declared themselves "free soil." In 1819 the Senate represented twenty-two states, eleven free soil and eleven slave soil. As the U.S.A. expanded westward the new states were sought to be divided equally between slavery and freedom. But this did not happen and the northern anti-slavery states grew in strength. The northerners showed great zeal in their opposition to slavery. They founded anti-slavery societies and did powerful propaganda for the abolition of slavery. They gave shelter and protection to escaped slaves. Such conditions inspired the publication in 1852 of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* dealing with the pathetic story of a slave, Uncle Tom. Half a million copies were sold within a few weeks. In vain the southerners protested that they were treating their slaves well, and that slavery was necessary to work their cotton and tobacco plantations.

The immediate cause

Lincoln's election : Secession 1860

The election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the Union in 1860 precipitated the civil war. Lincoln was the stalwart leader of the Republican party which swore by the abolition of slavery throughout the states. He was opposed by Douglas, the Democratic candidate of the south. The

southerners were deeply piqued over their defeat in the election which came at the top of a series of disappointments. As soon as the South Carolina legislature heard of Lincoln's victory it severed its link with the Union (December 1860). The rest of the southern states followed. In February 1861 the eleven states of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana and Georgia seceded and constituted themselves into the Confederate States of America, with their capital at Richmond in Virginia, under the presidency of Jefferson Davis, a Democrat of Mississippi. The Northerners questioned the right of the southerners to secede from the Union and the southerners replied by opening their guns.

The course of the civil war

The Parties

In numbers the north was stronger than the south. It had a population of 22 millions ; the south had only nine millions of whom about four millions were slaves. The north was also better prepared than the south for waging a protracted war. Its transport and communications were highly developed ; it was industrially advanced and could manufacture its own war materials. It also kept control of the navy, while the south had no navy worth the name.

The battle of Gettysburg

The southern states under the command of Robert Lee won some initial victories. But in 1862 the Unionists won the famous victory of Gettysburg. Lee beat a hasty retreat losing 36,000 men. The fallen soldiers of both armies were given a decent burial and a portion of the battlefield was transformed into a national cemetery. President Lincoln attended the ceremony of dedication and paid a tribute to the brave men who had laid down their lives " that govern-

ment of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The Mississippi front

Capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson

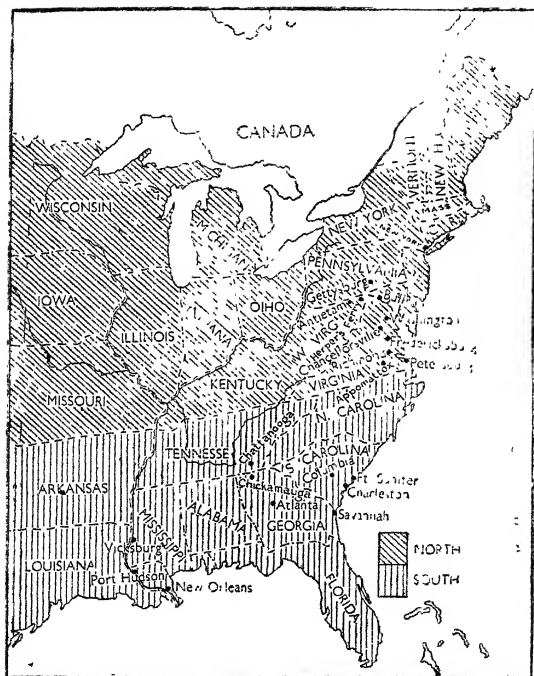
In the Mississippi front the Unionists won a series of victories under the command of Ulysses Grant and captured Vicksburg and Port Hudson on the Mississippi river, the whole of which was now cruised by Union men. The Confederate states west of the river were now cut off from the eastern states (1863).

The oceanic blockade

In 1861 the Unionist navy had begun a blockade of the Atlantic sea-board and by 1863 the southern states were totally cut off from the external world. Cotton shipments to Europe and importation of arms and military supplies were completely stopped. In April 1862 New Orleans, the foremost city in the southern states, surrendered. As a result bread and butter became almost scarce and manufactured cloth unprocurable. The women wove cloth with their own hands. Luxuries of all sorts disappeared from the markets and thorns took the place of hair pins.

The end of the war

In 1862 President Lincoln issued his famous Emancipation Proclamation "that on the first day of January in the year of our Lord 1863 all persons held as slaves within any state shall be free." The two causes of union and abolition of slavery were thus united. A victory for the south would mean a victory for division and slavery. In 1866 the Union commander Ulysses Grant captured Petersburg near Richmond from General Lee and finally defeated him at Appomattox. The war came to an end (1865).



Civil war in America

The results of the war

Effect on the Union

The war resulted in a victory for the Union and gave to it an "indestructible" character.

Effects on the North and the South

The growth of industry which was encouraged by the war, made the north very rich. But the south was impoverished. It lay in one big heap of ruins. Cities like Richmond and Charleston were battered and bombarded out of shape or burnt to cinders. Bridges, roads, railway tracks, and docks were all destroyed. Normal life had disappeared. Money had lost its value. Agriculture, the pride of the south was rudely upset. Huge farms in their thousands were abandoned, the ploughs rusted in the fields and the slave system had disappeared.

Effect on the negroes

The negroes, for whom the war was fought, gained immediately. In 1868 perfect equality was established in the eyes of the law between the whites and the negroes. They became free. In 1870 the constitution of the U.S.A. gave them the vote.

The life and work of Abraham Lincoln



Abraham
Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809 in a log cabin in the backwoods of Kentucky. His boyhood was passed in poverty. Lincoln grew to be a tall, gaunt athlete of six feet four inches, and after a varied career as clerk, storekeeper and postmaster, he entered the field of politics, which afforded easy avenue to distinction. He was elected to the Illinois state legislature four times

and in 1846 he became a representative in the Congress. In 1860 the Republican party nominated him as their party candidate for the Presidency. In December Lincoln was elected President.

Lincoln's conduct of the civil war was characterised by wisdom, moderation and patience. After declaring a blockade of the southern coast he directed the campaigns with deep sagacity. He always waited and struck at the proper moment. He was re-elected President for a second term in 1864. After the fall of Richmond he visited the city on 4 April 1865 and returned to Washington. Ten days later he attended a theatre where he was shot dead by Booth, a fanatical secessionist.

Lincoln's death was a national tragedy. His loss was a blow both to the victor and the vanquished. His successors were not moderate. They were intolerant and revengeful men, who widened the differences between the north and the south. The Americans had lost their common kinsman. "This lowliest born of men, whose genius had lifted him to the highest powers and won the honours of the proudest, was beloved by his countrymen because he was the full embodiment of American aspiration." He was the embodiment of the Republican ideal that every American boy is a possible American President. To a regiment of volunteers he once said "I am a living witness that any one of your children may look to come here as my father's child has."

Next to George Washington, Abraham Lincoln ranks as the greatest of the American Presidents. He preserved the Union which his illustrious predecessor had founded and practically re-established it. The twin ideals of the American constitution, *viz.*, union and liberty became an accomplished national fact under his inspiring guidance.

CHAPTER V

UNIFICATION MOVEMENT IN ITALY AND GERMANY : NATIONALISM IN S. E. EUROPE

§ 1. REVOLUTION IN ITALY

The Risorgimento, 1815-48*

Before 1815 Italy was temporarily united under Napoleon. This unity was destroyed by the Congress of Vienna. In 1815 Italy was made up of the following states : (1) the kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont which included Genoa, Savoy and Nice : (2) the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice, directly ruled over by the Austrian emperor; (3) the duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany ruled by the kinsmen of the Austrian emperor; (4) the papal states, and (5) the kingdom of Naples. The power of Austria was foremost in Italy and its help was sought by the Pope and the King of Naples to suppress revolts.

After the imprisonment of Napoleon the work of unification was carried on by secret societies like the Carbonari†. The Carbonari wanted to put an end to the Monarchies in Italy and establish a republic. Mazzini was the foremost inspirer of the republican ideal. He organised in 1831 the association known as Young Italy. His aim was "to unite all Italy into a single state under republican government" by the power of enthusiasm and reason and not by force. It was the expectation of many, however, that the kingdom of Piedmont, under a constitutional monarchy, would gradually expand into the kingdom of Italy.

* Risorgimento refers to the revolt of the Italian people against Austrian domination, culminating in the unification of Italy in 1870.

† which meant 'charcoal burners.' These societies bore strange names and practised fantastic rites.

1848, the year of revolutions

In 1848 there were revolutions all over Europe. Italy did not escape the storm. There were risings in Milan, Venice, Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Venice proclaimed herself a republic. At the head of the rebels was Charles Albert, king of Sardinia. The emperor of Austria sent an army into Lombardy to put down the revolt and Charles Albert was defeated at Custoza in Venice (1848). He concluded a truce with the emperor and retired to his kingdom.

Mazzini however did not want that the defeat at Custoza should be the end of the revolution in Italy. In February 1849 he led an insurrection in Rome. The Pope fled and a republic was established. Mazzini offered the help of the republic to Charles Albert and induced him to march once more against the Austrian army in Lombardy. He was again defeated, this time at Novara, and he abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel.

Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy*Cavour: alliance with France*

Victor Emmanuel helped by his chief minister Count Cavour, not only drove the Austrians out of Italy but united the whole of the peninsula under his rule. The events of 1848-49 convinced Cavour that Sardinia alone could not achieve much and that outside help was necessary. He therefore secured the help and alliance of Napoleon III by a secret treaty in return for the cession of Nice and Savoy.

Victor Emmanuel collected a large army and with French help defeated the Austrians at the battle of Magenta and Solferino (1859). Napoleon III who won these battles suddenly grew suspicious of Sardinia. He feared that

Prussia would come to the aid of Austria. So in the midst of the victories he suddenly came to terms with Austria without even informing Victor Emmanuel and retired to France.

The unification of Italy

Garibaldi

The conduct of Napoleon III caused the bitterest disappointment to Cavour. But he was encouraged by the knowledge that Italy was fully prepared to unite into a single state. The people everywhere were eager to accept Victor Emmanuel as their king. In 1860 the people of Parma, Modena and Tuscany drove their rulers out of their duchies and united with Piedmont. Venice alone stood outside Piedmont and to get her a war with Austria had to be risked. Hence Cavour and Emmanuel now turned their attention to the southern states and secured the active help of men like Mazzini and Garibaldi who had long been working underground for national unity.

Mazzini and Garibaldi were the two most inspiring and romantic figures in the history of Italian unity. "Mazzini was the prophet and organiser of association; Garibaldi the soldier and hero of adventure." One of the earliest disciples of Mazzini, Garibaldi was banished from Italy in 1834 on account of his revolutionary activities. He went to South America and served in the Brazilian army. When revolution broke out in Italy in 1848 he returned and became the general of Mazzini.

As a first step, Cavour secretly helped Garibaldi to fit out an expedition to stir up a rebellion in Sicily. At the head of a thousand volunteers—the famous Red Shirts—Garibaldi landed in Sicily in 1860. The people hailed him as a deliverer and gave him an army of 20,000 men. The

Neapolitan army was defeated time and again and Garibaldi became the master of the whole of Sicily. After setting up a provisional government there in the name of Emmanuel he crossed over to the mainland and driving the Napoleon army before him, triumphantly entered Naples. He next proposed to attack the papal states but Cavour stopped him. He did not want to risk a quarrel with the Pope and was eager to consolidate what had been gained. Emmanuel led an army to Naples and formally assumed control of the new territories in the south.

In 1861 Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of king of Italy and opened the first Italian Parliament at Turin. Thus with the exception of Venice and Rome Italy became a single state. The annexation of Venice entailed a war with Austria and that of Rome a war with France because the French army was in Rome to help the Pope. Hence Victor Emmanuel bided his time.

The opportunities for which he was waiting soon came. In 1866 Prussia went to war with Austria and Italy took the side of Prussia. Austria was defeated and Italy got Venice as a reward for her help. In 1870 arose the Franco-Prussian war and France withdrew her forces from Rome. Emmanuel immediately annexed Rome. The Pope became a virtual prisoner in his palace. Rome was united with Italy by a popular vote and Emmanuel transferred his capital from Turin to Rome which once again became the capital of united Italy.

§ 2. THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

William I and Bismarck

William I (1861-88)

The German Confederation was a loose organization of 39 states under the nominal control of the Austrian emperor. Of the subordinate states Prussia was the most

powerful. William I (1861-88) was a typical Prussian monarch, ambitious, unscrupulous and deeply patriotic. It was his aim to make Prussia the head of a strong Germanic federation. He saw clearly that this was impossible so long as Austria had any stake in Germany. If Prussia were to dominate Germany, Austria, her rival must first be thrown out of the field. He studiously prepared for a war with Austria. In his task he was ably guided by his chief minister Otto von Bismarck. The welding of the German states into the German nation and the making of the German empire were the achievements of these two remarkable men. Both believed in a stern repressive policy and had nothing but contempt for democratic institutions.

The king and his minister saw that the first requisite of Prussian advancement was an efficient army. This required money. Taxes were levied and collected. All opposition was sternly repressed. Enough money was raised and at last by 1864, Prussia had the best and most efficient army in Europe. Moltke, the famous Prussian general, introduced into the Prussian army a new kind of gun called the breech-loader or 'needle-gun.' The gun fired with terrific speed and spread confusion among the enemies. Europe learnt about it for the first time in the course of the Austro-Prussian war.

The Austro-Prussian War, 1866

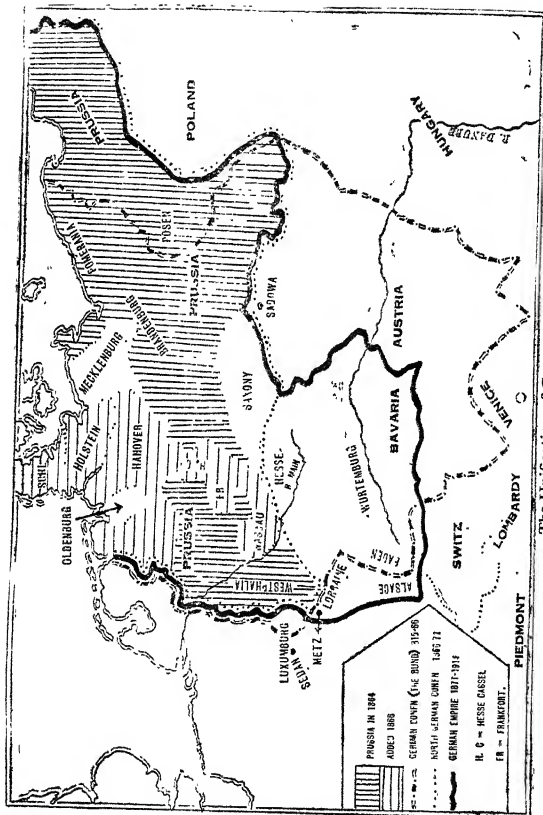
The war broke out when the Danish king, Frederick VII, annexed the German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to his own kingdom in 1863. The Germans took this as an insult to their national honour. Prussia and Austria declared war. The Danes were severely beaten in 1864 and the Prussians and Austrians advanced far into Denmark. The Danish king surrendered Schleswig and Holstein. At once Austria and Prussia quarrelled over the division of the

spoils (June 1866). Austria called upon the members of the Confederation to range themselves against Prussia and almost all of them obeyed.

Despite her numerous allies, Austria was defeated and at once came to terms, and by the Peace of Prague (1866) the emperor withdrew Austria from the German Confederation and renounced his claims to any part of Schleswig and Holstein. Thus Austria left Prussia the mistress of Germany. This was an important step towards German unity. Prussia annexed the states she had occupied during the war (Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Frankfort and Nassau). The acquisition of those states which lay between the eastern and western bits of Prussia had long been the ambition of the Prussian monarchs, and it was fulfilled by William I and Bismarck. The new Prussia together with Schleswig and Holstein became the natural leader of Germany, and Bismarck immediately proceeded to form a close union of all German states north of the river Maine under Prussian leadership known as the North German Confederation.

The Franco-Prussian War, 1870—71

Napoleon III (1852-70) had been watching the rise of Prussia with anxiety. He was eager to put down its power and thereby raise French prestige in the eyes of Europe. He found a pretext for war in the Spanish Succession question of 1869. In that year the Spanish throne fell vacant and the Spaniards offered the throne to Prince Leopold, a kinsman of William I. Napoleon III protested that William I was scheming to unite Prussia with Spain. Prince Leopold at once withdrew his candidature and declined the offer. Not content with this the French emperor demanded that the Prussian king should never support the claim of a Prussian prince for the Spanish throne. William I refused to make any such promises and Napoleon III immediately declared war (1870).



The Unification of Germany

*Prussian victory at Sedan, 1870**William I proclaimed German emperor*

Napoleon III was disappointed that Austria and Italy did not join him in a war against Prussia. The Prussians gained a victory in Lorraine and in the decisive battle fought at Sedan, Napoleon III was defeated. The Parisians at once deposed Napoleon III and set up the Third Republic. The new government made desperate efforts to throw the invader back, but could not succeed. The Prussians closed round Paris in September 1870. The French held out for four months and then surrendered. In January 1871 the Prussians triumphantly entered Paris. Bismarck took William I to the Hall of Mirrors in the famous palace at Versailles and proclaimed him German emperor, the 'Kaiser.' By the treaty of Frankfort (1871) Bismarck imposed upon France a huge war indemnity equivalent to £ 200,000,000. The provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were annexed to the German empire—the new name of the old North German Confederation.

The German empire 1871—1914

The empire was a federation of twenty-five states, *viz.*, the four kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg and seven principalities, eleven duchies, and three commercial towns. The captured French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were formed into *Reichland* or imperial district. The head of the empire was the emperor, who was the king of Prussia. He represented the empire in all international affairs. He had the command of the imperial army. The states were autonomous and managed their own local affairs. They sent their representatives to meet in a federal body known as the *Bundesrat*, presided over by the Chancellor, appointed by and solely responsible to the emperor.

The Triple Alliance, 1882—1914

Contrary to expectations France rapidly recovered from the blow of 1871. She discharged her debt of two million pounds in two years. In 1874 conscription was introduced. Bismarck grew alarmed, particularly when Britain and Russia declared their intention to support France in case of war. He at once proceeded to make the position of Germany secure by forming close alliances with neighbouring countries. In 1879 Prussia and Austria concluded an offensive and defensive alliance (the Dual Alliance). Italy joined the Dual Alliance in 1882 though only for defensive purposes. Thus the Dual Alliance now became the Triple Alliance. A strong Central European bloc was thus created and this factor dominated European politics till 1914.

§ 3. NATIONALISM IN SOUTH-EAST EUROPE

Revolutions in 1848

The Austrian empire, as it emerged from the treaty of Vienna, contained different races: the Germans in Austria, the Italians in Venice and Lombardy, the Czechs in Bohemia and the Magyars in Hungary. We have already seen how Lombardy and Venice were included in Italy. In 1848, the year of revolutions, there were popular risings of the Germans, the Czechs and the Magyars. These revolutions were dealt with firmly and finally put down by the Austrian emperor Francis Joseph. The Magyar revolution in Hungary was quite successful at first. Under the leadership of the famous Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, the Magyars threw off the Austrian yoke and established a republic under his presidentship. But it was short-lived. With the help of Czar Nicholas I of Russia, Francis Joseph defeated the Magyars and restored his control over Hungary. A brutal revenge was taken on the people of Hungary. Statesmen and generals were shot and women flogged in public.

Freedom from Turkish rule

Besides Hungary, south-east Europe or the Balkan Peninsula included Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Greece. All these Christian states were part of the Ottoman empire of Turkey. They wanted freedom. The Congress of Vienna did not tackle this problem. The first country to attain freedom was Greece. In the Greek War of Independence (1821-29) the combined Turkish-Egyptian fleet was defeated by the Greeks and in 1829 Turkey recognised Greek independence. After this, Egypt, which was a province of the Ottoman empire, became independent.

The European powers liked to see the Balkan states become free, but Britain and France suspected that Russia wanted to conquer for herself the Ottoman empire in Europe, which included besides the Balkan states the territory on the Black Sea coast including Crimea. Hence these two states pursued a policy of helping Turkey in maintaining her empire. Turkey had now become weak and was regarded as the 'sick man of Europe.' Russia invaded the Ottoman empire in 1853 in response to the appeals of Serbia and Bulgaria for help to win freedom. She occupied Crimea and the territory to its north-west. Her object was to force the Sultan of Turkey to grant freedom to the Balkan states. Britain and France, however, declared war on Russia and attacked Crimea. In the Crimean War (1854-56) Russia was defeated. In the war Florence Nightingale, a British nurse, distinguished herself by her selfless humanitarian work for the sick and wounded soldiers. By the treaty of Paris (1856) the European powers agreed to respect the integrity of the Turkish empire.

The freedom of the Balkan states was thus delayed by the suspicious and antagonistic feelings of Britain and France towards Russia. They were afraid that Russia might become

very powerful and upset the balance of power in Europe. But they could not prevent the freedom movement for long. In 1876 the Bulgarians revolted and the Turks put down the revolt with great cruelty. The "Eastern Question" was sought to be settled by the Congress of Berlin (1878). This Congress was attended by the representatives of Turkey, Russia, Britain, Germany and Austria. The Congress created an independent Bulgaria and recognised Turkish control of Macedonia. Austria was given a protectorate over Bosnia and neighbouring Herzgovina.

*The problem of the Turkish empire and freedom of the Balkan states from Turkish control has been termed the 'Eastern Question.'

CHAPTER VI

THE OPENING UP OF AFRICA AND AUSTRALIA

§ 1. AFRICA

The Dark Continent

Upto the nineteenth century much of Africa remained unknown and unexplored and hence it was known as the Dark Continent. After 1487, when Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and the British established their slave-trading posts in western Africa (Senegal, Gambia, etc.) The real discovery of Africa was the work of explorers during the period 1769—1871. The sources of the Blue Nile, the Niger and the White Nile were traced respectively by Bruce, Mungo Park and Speke in 1769, 1794, and 1858. The lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza were reached by Burton in 1858. The greatest of the explorers was David Livingstone (1813–73), a missionary who went to South Africa from Glasgow and worked among the natives for their emancipation from the white man's cruelty. He discovered lake Nyasa, traced the Zambezi to its mouth and explored the interior regions between the rivers Orange and Congo.

Incentive to colonisation

The main incentive to African colonisation arose out of the needs of the Industrial Revolution. The rapidly multiplying factories in the great cities of Europe required food for their millions of workers, raw materials for their machines and markets for their goods. The unexploited continent of Africa offered to furnish these. Very often the traders were the first to organise colonising parties. They were followed by missionaries and then officials.

The partition of Africa

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Africa was partitioned between Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Belgium. The Portuguese were the earliest European inhabitants of Africa. First, they spread all along the coast and later were confined to Angola and a portion of the eastern coast known as Portuguese East Africa. The Congo Free State (1885) was first developed by an international company dominated by Belgium and later on passed directly under Belgium. The French followed in the wake of the Belgians and took a share in the Congo basin—the French Congo (1880). In 1884 Germany founded German Southwest Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons. Next year she took the country of Tanganyika from the Sultan of Zanzibar and this colony came to be known as German East Africa.

Britain in Africa, 1815–1900

Egypt and Sudan

Cape Colony which Britain acquired in 1815 was her first settlement in Africa. In 1882 she occupied Egypt in the following circumstances. The ruler Ismail Pasha (1863–79) had borrowed huge sums of money from European creditors and spent them lavishly. When he did not repay the debts he was forced to resign in favour of his son and the Egyptian finances were placed in the hands of an Anglo-French commission. This was deeply resented by the Egyptians and patriotic feeling was roused by an Arab minister of the Pasha, called Arabi Bey. There was rioting in Cairo and European lives were threatened. To suppress the disorder Britain sent a fleet to Alexandria. The army of Arabi Bey was defeated at Tel-el-Kebir (1882). Egypt was occupied by the British army and the Pasha was taken under British protection.

Sudan was a province of Egypt. In 1879 the Sudanese rose against the Pasha under the leadership of a saint called

Muhammad Ahmad, who was hailed as the Mahdi or Prophet. In 1885 Gordon, the British general in Sudan, was surrounded and defeated by the Mahdi at Khartoum. Its Egyptian and British defenders were massacred. Gordon himself was slain. In 1898 the Sudanese were defeated by Sir Herbert Kitchener in the battle of Omdurman and Sudan was made into a Protectorate under the Anglo-Egyptian government.

The British in South Africa

Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister from 1886-92 and 1895-1902, encouraged Chartered Companies to plant colonies in Africa. He concluded treaties with the European powers to define and consolidate the British acquisitions.

The British East Africa Company developed the Kenya colony during 1885-90. In 1885 the British from Cape Colony annexed the native state of Bechuanaland. The great name in British colonisation of South Africa is Cecil Rhodes, who made his fortunes in the Kimberley diamond mines. He founded the British South Africa company in 1889. He went north of Bechuanaland and colonised the land on either side of the Zambesi, which was called Rhodesia (after the founder).

In West Africa Britain had several slave trading posts like Gambia and Sierra Leone. The British could not push further into the interior because the whole of north-west Africa was being developed by France and had become almost a French province. But the Royal Niger Company had developed a vast slice of territory on either side of the Niger and as a result the British colony of Nigeria was formed (1890). The coastal territory stretching to the east of Abyssinia, known as Somaliland, was developed by Britain and Italy.



Opening up of Africa

The chief rivals to the British expansion in Africa, were the French and the Italians. The Third Republic made the whole of North Africa a vast French province. They attempted to take Sudan also but later agreed to withdraw from Sudan and leave it in the hands of the British. The Italians had colonised Eritrea and wanted to conquer Abyssinia which they invaded. But in the battle of Adowa (1896) the Abyssinians inflicted a crushing defeat on the Italians and this was "the only setback the Europeans received at the hands of the native races during the period of conquest and partition." Italy took her revenge during the Second World War.

In the African colonial race, as elsewhere, the British were more successful than the rest. They threw their heart and soul into an expansionist policy and in a quarter of a century became the proud possessors of an African empire stretching from Cairo to the Cape.

The colonisation of Africa by the European powers was achieved peacefully and without coming to a clash with each other. Boundaries were often settled by treaties. They agreed to divide the spoils among themselves. They set before themselves no standards of colonial rule. They used the colonies for their own interests and had no regard for the welfare of the native races. This state of affairs changed at the close of the 19th century. In 1889 a Congress was held at Brussels in which it was decided that the policy of the powers should be to administer the colonies for the peace and the civilization of the native people.

The Dutch in South Africa

When the British came to rule over Cape Colony in 1815, about 25,000 Dutch colonists were already settled there as farmers. These colonists known as the Boers did

not like their British rulers. They employed slaves on a large scale on their farms and did not like the abolition of slavery throughout the British empire in 1838. They wanted to crush the warlike native tribes known as the Kaffirs but the British showed some sympathy towards them and considered them as oppressed people. The Boers decided upon quitting Cape Colony. From 1836 to 1856 the Great Trek went on. Between these years more than one-third of the Boer population of Cape Colony went north and founded the two Boer states of Orange Free State and Transvaal. They also tried to settle in Natal but Natal was annexed by the British in 1843.

The Boer Wars

The Boers of Transvaal were constantly attacked by the neighbouring Zulu tribes and were unable to defend themselves. They welcomed British help and were prepared to accept British protection. In 1877 the British proclaimed the annexation of Transvaal and in 1879 the Zulu army was defeated and completely broken up.

Once the Zulu menace was lifted the Boers wanted back their independence. The First Boer War broke out in 1881 when the Transvaal Boers rose in revolt and routed a British force stationed at Majuba Hill. The British Prime Minister Gladstone (1880-85), granted the Boers their independence by the Convention of Pretoria (1881).

The discovery of gold mines in Transvaal (1886) led to an entirely new situation. Thousands of Englishmen migrated to Johannesburg, the mining centre of Transvaal, and employed themselves in the mines. The number of Englishmen in Transvaal rapidly increased and by 1896 fifty percent of the white male population was English. The newcomers were hated by the Boers who called them *Uitlanders* or *Outlanders*. Paul Kruger, President of

Transvaal, not only denied the Englishmen all political rights but levied on them a special mines-tax. The situation grew tense day by day and the Outlanders had a strong supporter in Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony. In 1895 there occurred the crisis of the Jameson Raid. Cecil Rhodes conspired with the 'Outlanders' and planned a revolution in Transvaal. The British subjects were to rise at a given moment and a British force, at the same time, was to cross into Transvaal and strike at the Boer government. The whole affair ended in a fiasco because Jameson, who was put in command of the British force, crossed the frontier in a hurry, before the Outlanders were ready, and he and his men were surrounded and captured by the Boers. Cecil Rhodes resigned his premiership. The failure of the Jameson Raid encouraged the Boers in the thought that after all they were a match to the British. Paul Kruger began directly to prepare for war.

All attempts at peaceful settlement of the outstanding issues between the Boers and the British failed and the Second Boer War broke out in 1899. In that war the Boers of Orange Free State threw in their lot with their brethren across the Vaal. The Boers invaded Natal and besieged Ladysmith. They also invaded British Bechuanaland in the west and besieged Mafeking and Kimberley. Lord Roberts was sent to South Africa with a huge army of 250,000. Against this army the Boer army of 30,000 could not hold out for long. Robert's victories began in February 1900 and before October Ladysmith, Mafeking and Kimberley were relieved. Bloemfontein, the capital of Orange Free State, and Pretoria, the capital of Transvaal, were captured, and the annexation of both the Boer states to British South Africa proclaimed.

Though the Boer republics were conquered, the Boers as a people were not yet subdued. Their generals Smuts,

De Wet, and Botha were still free and they organised effective guerilla campaigns. Kitchener, Chief of Staff of the British Army, who was left to deal with this problem, erected blockhouses all over the country and linked them up with barbed wire fencing, systematically devastated the farms, and gathered all Boer women and children into concentration camps, where in about a year 20,000 died. Such methods were denounced all over the world and even in Britain a strong pro-Boer feeling made its appearance. Peace was concluded at last in May 1902. By the Treaty of Vereeniging the Boers accepted British suzerainty. The British treasury granted £ 3,000,000 towards re-stocking the Boer farms.

§ 2. AUSTRALIA

The Dutch

The seafarers and explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had only vague ideas of a huge, sprawling continent somewhere in the South Seas, which they called *Terra Australie Incognita* or the Unknown Land of the South. The small island of Tasmania and the big island of New Zealand, both south of Australia, were Dutch discoveries of the seventeenth century. Both the islands were discovered by the famous Dutch explorer Tasman; one was called after the discoverer and the other after the Dutch Province of Zealand. The north western coast of Australia was also explored and called New Holland. But these discoveries were not utilised by the Dutch for purposes of colonisation.

The English

The eastern coast of Australia was discovered and explored by Captain James Cook during 1768-79. The

south-eastern corner of Australia—New South Wales—was found to be very rich in vegetation and one spot, near Sydney, was called Botany Bay. Britain used this discovery as a convict settlement and New South Wales (founded in 1788) and Tasmania became penal colonies. The grassy plains of the interior attracted, in course of time, many sheep farmers from England, who became the first respectable citizens of Australia. Emigration was encouraged by the ending of transportation of criminals to Australia in 1840. By this date three new colonies had been founded: Queensland, Victoria and Western Australia.

Explorers were greatly interested in the new continent and many of them came to Australia and traced the sources of the rivers. They found the central regions to be useless sandy deserts. In 1851 gold was discovered in New South Wales and Victoria and immediately there was a rush of immigrants from all parts of the world. Sheep-farming made gigantic strides and Australia became the greatest wool exporting country. The face of the country was rapidly changed. It ceased to be a convict settlement and became a new home of the Britishers, full of bright hopes for the future.

The various colonies had their own parliaments and acquired self-government in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. Towards the close of this century there was a setback. This was due to distress caused by economic depression, fall in wages, labour troubles and drought. But soon prosperity returned. In 1901 the six colonies of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania federated into a single state—the Commonwealth of Australia. The Australians have followed from the outset a

policy of white British Australia. By their laws they have scrupulously kept out Asian settlers with the twofold object of preventing mixture with the coloureds and maintaining their high standard of life. They are proud of their British origin and membership of the British Commonwealth. With great efforts she has attained economic self-sufficiency. Though opposed to involvement in foreign affairs she is a member of the South-east Asia Treaty Organisation.

CHAPTER VII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

By Industrial Revolution is meant the change that came over the method and scope of industry as a result of the application of science. This occurred in England in the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century and elsewhere later. This change began a new era in the history of human pursuits. Machinery came into use and this had more far-reaching effects on human society than all the wars and politics of the period.

§ 1. THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

Improvements in agriculture

The coming of the enclosures

English villages in 1700. England in 1700 was a land of villages and most Englishmen were agriculturists. Unhedge and unfenced fields lay around each village and these were divided into small strips, each owned and cultivated by a villager from time immemorial. This was called the Open Field System. To supply their own clothing and other necessities the villagers had cottage industries. Every family spun wool or cotton into yarn and wove the yarn into cloth and supplied its own needs. This picture of the villages which had survived for centuries suddenly changed in the course of the eighteenth century. The Open Field System perished as a result of the coming of the enclosures and the cottage industries perished as a result of the coming of the machines.

Improvements in agriculture and the coming of the enclosures. Agriculture in England was first affected by the new scientific spirit. Throughout the Middle Ages and upto 1700 the English farmer either cultivated his land for two years and left it fallow for one year or left

one-third of it to lie fallow each year. Lord Townshend found out that if root crops like turnips (hence 'Turnip Townshend') were planted and when the soil was left fallow the land gained in fertility instead of losing. Hence he suggested a new four year rotation of crops under which no land or part of it need lie fallow at any time; wheat, some type of grass like clover, oats and some roots like turnips could be planted successively for four years. This new rotation of crops not only improved the land but provided adequate food for the cattle during winter, the lack of which had forced the farmers to slaughter their cattle at the approach of winter.

The breeding of cattle and sheep received considerable attention at the hands of interested persons like Robert Bakewell (1725-95) and Charles Colling who adopted vastly improved methods and developed new, heavier and healthier breed of cattle and sheep, *e.g.*, the Longhorn breed of cattle and the Leicestershire breed of sheep. New foods for cattle were produced from land fed with better manure. The government under the direction of George III, ('Farmer George') expressed their interest in the new methods by setting up the Board of Agriculture to study and encourage them.

In line with the new scientific spirit it was realised that the available arable land of Britain might be made to produce much more corn than what was actually turned out, by adopting improved methods of ploughing and sowing. Jethro Tull invented in 1701 a machine called the Drill, which, according to the inventor, made the channels, sowed the seeds into them and covered them at the same time with earth with great exactness and precision.

The small farmers owning small strips could not adopt the above improved methods. Not only were they conservative but their few acres were quite inadequate for the

employment of the new methods. Hence interested persons began to buy these strips in thousands and *enclosed* them to make big compact farms. But not all villages were prepared to sell their strips. Hence Parliament, throughout the eighteenth century, passed a series of Enclosure Acts (about 3000 in number) by which both the waste lands and open fields were enclosed. The waste land was brought under the plough and the strips were regrouped into big enclosed farms and redistributed among the villagers, each former owner of a strip now getting a share of the new farm. But in this redistribution the villager had to show his legal right for the share and had also to pay towards the cost of hedging. Many could not show their legal right and many others could not pay the cost of hedging. Anyhow the result was many of the villagers lost their strips and wended their way in large numbers to the new industrial towns in search of a living. Villages were deserted. The Open Field System and the Domestic System (*i.e.*, cottage industries) disappeared along with the old rural life, the passing of which Oliver Goldsmith mourned in his *Deserted Village*. Between 1750 and 1850 the face of England was changed. England ceased to be a land of calm green villages and became a land of crowded, smoky, industrial towns.

§ 2. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Textile industry

The application of science to industry first affected the manufacture of textiles. Both the old fashioned spinning wheel and the handloom were replaced by better spinning and weaving machines. In 1733 John Kay, a weaver of Lancashire, invented the Flying Shuttle which mechanically 'flew' from one side of the loom to the other and greatly increased the speed of weaving. When all the weavers began to adopt this device the spinners were not able to supply

them the requisite yarn. To meet this demand a series of improvements in spinning were made. In 1764 Hargreaves invented a wheel which turned out first eight and then sixteen spindles at the same time, whereas previously one person could turn only one spindle. This wheel known as the Spinning Jenny was improved by Arkwright, who invented the Spinning Frame (1771), a device of spinning by means of rollers. In 1779 Crompton combined in his Mule the advantages of both the previous discoveries. The machine developed to such an extent that by the end of the eighteenth century one person operated a hundred spindles. In 1785 a further improved weaving machine came into being when Cartwright, a clergyman, invented the power-loom.

The above inventions developed the cotton industry much more than the woollen. Raw cotton could be imported in any quantity and only cotton goods were demanded in the tropical countries. Lancashire benefited most from the cotton trade and very soon developed into a prosperous and thriving trading port.

Iron Industry

Iron, which is indispensable in any industry, is extracted from iron ore by heating. Till the eighteenth century the heating agent had been wood charcoal. The forests of England were cut down to provide the charcoal and when the forests began to disappear one by one the production of iron fell and its price rose. Then it was discovered that coke (derived from coal) could be used in place of charcoal. This discovery led to the development of the English coal-fields in central and north England (the Black Country, the chief centres being Birmingham, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Newcastle and Glasgow). When vast quantities of coal were thus made available the production of iron went up by leaps and bounds. Great iron works were started in various

places and it was very fortunate for the producers that iron and coal were situated in England side by side.

Steam power

Of all the discoveries the most significant was the invention of an economical and practicable steam engine by James Watt in 1769. That steam could be used as power was long known but its successful practical application was made only in 1769, when James Watt, an instrument-maker in the University of Glasgow, invented his famous steam engine with the separate condenser. Thus steam power was harnessed to provide the motive power for all industries. The steam engine was the "most powerful mechanical agent of the Industrial Revolution." By the close of the eighteenth century the steam engine was used in the textile, iron and coal industries.

§ 3. THE RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The development of Transport

Roads, canals and railways

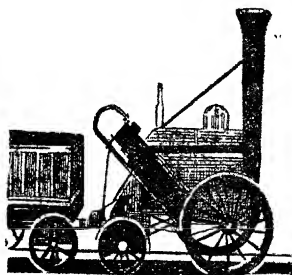
In the era of the Industrial Revolution raw materials and manufactured goods had to be transported from one place to another but the means of transport were in a very bad condition. The old Roman roads were absolutely impassable during the rainy season. They were useless for the transport of heavy goods which were mostly taken by sea. The eighteenth century witnessed the development of roads and canals, and the nineteenth century the railways.

In the first half of the eighteenth century repair of the road was done by local authorities from the proceeds of tolls. But this did not go beyond attending to minor repairs. But in the second half of the eighteenth century there appeared three great road engineers who built new roads and revolutionised the art of road construction. Metcalfe and Telford built many new roads in north England, and

Macadam discovered an entirely new method of road laying. This method, called after the inventor, consists in forming a hard road surface by uniformly spreading small stones and crushing them into the earth by means of the heavy stone roller.

Side by side with roads, canals were developed for transport of materials like coal and iron. The initiative was taken by the industrialists themselves, who were interested in cheapening the cost of raw materials. When the Duke of Bridgewater got a canal dug between the Worsley collieries and Manchester, the price of coal in the latter town fell from 12s. to 5s. a ton. Encouraged by the success of the enterprise many canal companies undertook to construct a network of canals throughout England. All rivers were canalised and by the end of the eighteenth century, Manchester, Hull, Birmingham, Bristol, London and Liverpool were all connected by water.

The railway is associated with the name of George Stephenson. He was a fireman in a colliery. In 1813 he invented his first locomotive (railway engine) and in 1825 opened the first railway line in the world—the Stockton-Darlington line (in north England). He then built the Liverpool—Manchester line. His locomotive called the “Rocket” ran at the “unheard of speed of 35 miles per hour.”



The Rocket

The rise of industrial towns

Urban problems

Industrial towns sprang up where coal and iron were found side by side, viz., central and north England. The towns of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Manchester, Sheffield, Liverpool, Leeds, Bradford, Newcastle and Glasgow attracted the rural population from all sides particularly from the south. Before the Industrial Revolution south England was the most densely populated part of the country and north England was sparsely populated but after the Industrial Revolution the position was reversed. The change took place roughly between 1775 and 1825. To give the vote and representation in parliament to the inhabitants of the new industrial towns a series of Reform Acts were passed beginning with the Reform Act of 1832.

The implications of the Industrial Revolution were not realised by the rulers of Britain. They did not know that a great change in human occupation was taking place and that populations were moving from one place to another and settling without any plan. They did not realise that it was their duty to regulate this flow of population. The results of this governmental non-interference were twofold; the labourers settled in large numbers in slums and the capitalists sweated labour. These factors gave rise to manifold socio-economic problems.

The industrial towns sprang up quickly without plan, without sanitation and without decency. Jerry-built abodes for workers huddled together in long gloomy rows, lacking light and ventilation. The mushroom growth of slums on a large scale bred many evils. A lowering of mental and physical standards was clearly seen in the course of a few generations as the population left the wide open fields of the village and came to dwell in dark dingy houses in smoky towns of "never-ending mean streets."

Increase in population

The change from a rural to town life resulted in a remarkable increase in population. The population of England and Wales in 1760 was about seven millions ; in 1820 it was about twelve millions. As vast numbers of men and women came together in the new industrial towns there were great opportunities for social contact. The workers married earlier and had bigger families. When the Industrial Revolution spread from England to other European countries in the course of the nineteenth century the same increase in population was noticed.

The coming of the factory system

Before the days of the Industrial Revolution the tools of manufacture were simple and small. Each craftsman set up a neat little workshop in his own cottage. He was his own labourer and was assisted by his wife and children. The Industrial Revolution gave a rude shock to this system, the domestic system, and now came the factory system. The capitalist owned the factory and the machines. He did not work but employed hundreds of workers for wages. The worker ceased to be an independent craftsman and became merely 'a hired hand.' Beyond his wages he was not interested in the manufacture and sale of the product ; he had no share in the profits.

Expansion of British trade

The immediate effect of the factory system was a vast increase in production. The machines manufactured articles at a rapid rate and very soon Britain was able to supply the whole world with her manufactured goods, particularly cloth. She was fifty years in advance of the rest of Europe in the use of machines in industry and this unique position enabled her to be the supplier of manufactured goods to the

world. The U.S.A. was still an agricultural country and imported all her manufactured goods from Britain. India which was rapidly passing under British domination was a fertile field for commercial exploitation and the vast country served as one of the best markets for the cotton products of Lancashire. Even the countries of Europe imported finished goods from Britain until they came to have their own manufactures and Britain had no serious competitor upto 1870. As a result the businessmen of Britain became prosperous.

Capital versus labour

Rise of Socialism

The businessmen of Britain were intent upon producing more goods at less cost and reaping huge profits. They made men, women and children work for more than 12 and 14 hours a day under conditions most injurious to health and life. The capitalists and the labourers, they said, must come to a mutual settlement in accordance with the law of supply and demand. In short they said that the state must not interfere on behalf of the workers. The doctrine which advocated non-intervention of the state in manufacture and sale was called *laissez-faire* (which meant 'leave alone.') The opposite doctrine was called *Socialism*. Wages, the socialist said, would not favour the workers if they were fixed by means of a 'free bargain' between the employers and the workers. The former had better bargaining power because they could afford to keep their machines idle but on the other hand if the workers kept their hands idle they had to starve ; hence they demanded adequate safeguards from the state.

The Labour Movement

Factory Acts

The British Government approved the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and refused to interfere on behalf of the

workers, who began to form their own unions to enforce their demands. Thus grew the Labour movement or Trade Unionism. During the French Revolutionary War the British Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger, passed the Combination Acts (1799 and 1800), which made combination of workmen for the purpose of demanding increased wages a crime. He was afraid that trade unions might become Jacobin clubs. These Acts were repealed in 1824.

From 1833 onwards the British Government gave up its policy of non-intervention and passed a series of Factory Acts regulating the conditions in a factory. The Factory Act of 1833 appointed state officials to visit the factories. It laid down that no factory should employ children under nine. It also fixed the hours of work for the different age groups.

The Act of 1844 placed women in the same category as 'young persons' (*i.e.*, men between thirteen and eighteen) and neither were to be employed in cleaning machines while in motion. The Act of 1847, known as the Ten Hours Act, limited the work of women and 'young persons' in factories to ten hours a day. The Factory Extension Act of 1867 increased the powers of factory inspectors. The Employers' Liability Acts beginning from 1880 made the employer liable to pay compensation for any accident to a workman except that caused by his own carelessness.

CHAPTER VIII

MODERN ASIA

§ 1. THE RISING SUN

Modernisation of Japan

The word "Japan" is derived from a Chinese phrase meaning "Rising Sun," and the rise of modern Japan was as rapid as a morning sunrise. Until 1853 Japan lived in complete seclusion. Her laws forbade foreigners to set foot on her islands and her own people to cross the seas and set foot on foreign lands. In 1853 an American naval squadron appeared off the Japanese coast and demanded the opening of the Japanese ports to American merchandise. The Japanese had no navy. They reluctantly yielded and concluded a treaty with the U.S.A. At once Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Holland and Spain sent their fleets to Japan and secured trade concessions. The coming of the white man started a civil war in Japan between the progressives, who wanted to adopt western ideas, and the conservatives. In 1868 the progressives triumphed and a rapid process of westernisation began. This coincided with the accession to the throne of emperor Mutso Hito (1867-1912) who at once set about to remodel his country on western lines. In this task he was ably aided by his great minister, the Marquis Ito, who has been called "the Bismarck of modern Japan."

In the decades which followed 1868 Japan underwent an astonishingly rapid transformation. In 1871 feudalism was abolished. The entire administration was overhauled and the people were given a democratic constitution, the Parliament or Diet first meeting in 1890. Universities were established and elementary education was popularised. In 1868 Japan had not a single railway but in 1888 she was well provided

with rail transport. The army and navy were reorganised and by the close of the nineteenth century she possessed a highly trained army and an efficient fleet. By providing enough capital the state greatly encouraged the industries, particularly silk and cotton. Numerous factories sprang up which soon beat the western factories in their own game of mass production. Japanese textiles entered into cut-throat competition with the Lancashire textiles in the oriental markets. As a result Lancashire was ruined.

The First Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5

Having become a manufacturing and trading nation the Japanese sought to extend their trade and their territories. Like the western powers, they too wanted territories in China. Korea was nearest to them and they decided to have it. The Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1894. The Chinese could offer little effective resistance and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) China surrendered Korea, the Liao-Tung peninsula with Port Arthur, and the island of Formosa to Japan. The European powers now became aware that Japan had become a vigorous, militant, oriental nation and a powerful competitor in the oriental markets. Alarmed at the sudden rise of Japan, Russia, France and Germany appeared as the champions of China's integrity, brought pressure on Japan and forced her to return the Liao-Tung peninsula to China. Russia who had earmarked the Liao-Tung Peninsula for herself, now quietly seized the peninsula along with Port Arthur (1898). The champions of China's integrity kept quiet. Japan vowed vengeance.

She carefully prepared for a war with Russia. In 1902 she concluded an alliance with Britain. Meanwhile Russia occupied Manchuria and rushed troops to the Korean border.

She also strengthened her fleet in the Pacific. Without waiting further Japan declared war on Russia in 1904.

Japan won a series of astounding victories. The Japanese army invaded Korea and expelled the Russians from the peninsula. After a siege lasting for about a year and a half they captured Port Arthur and cleared Liao-Tung also of the Russians. In March 1905 they defeated the Russian army of Manchuria at Mukden. Meanwhile the Czar sent his Baltic squadron to retrieve the Russian fortunes in the China Sea. The Japanese fell upon it and annihilated it in three hours.

Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905

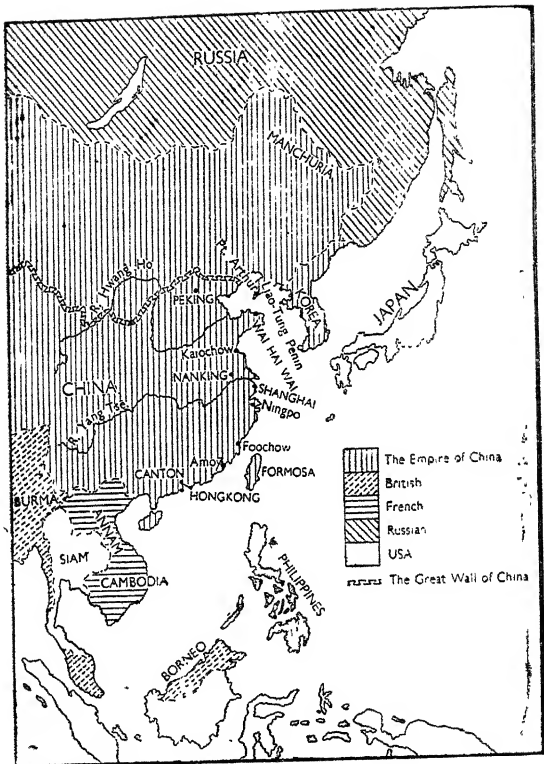
Thoroughly humbled, Russia was prepared to accept peace at any price. The Government of the U.S.A. offered to mediate and peace was concluded at Portsmouth (New Hampshire) by which Russia surrendered the Liao-Tung peninsula to Japan and recognised Korea as a Japanese "sphere of influence." Japan annexed Korea in 1910.

After the Russo-Japanese war the strength of Japan grew steadily. Her army and navy became bigger and more efficient. Her commerce and manufacture grew by leaps and bounds. Her towns like Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, Kobe and Nagoya became great industrial centres. Her population increased rapidly. When the First World War broke out she cast her lot with the Allies and proceeded to drive the Germans out of Shantung. The end of the war saw Japan as one of the Big Five who drew up the peace treaties:

§2. CHINA BECOMES A REPUBLIC

China in 1900

In 1900 two-thirds of China was occupied by foreigners and she was both unable and unwilling to expel them.



European expansion in the Far East

Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Japan had been steadily exploiting China for commercial purposes. Britain had acquired Hongkong and Wai-Hai-Wai and forced the Chinese to throw open their ports to foreign trade. France had taken Tonkin in south China, Germany Kiao-chow, and Russia the territory of Vladivostok. Japan had taken the major share : Korea, the Liao-Tung peninsula and Formosa. Not content with these possessions, some of which were called "leases," the powers had their own "spheres of influence" in China. In these "spheres" which included almost two-thirds of China, the powers were free from Chinese law ; they had the right to regulate customs duties and they had even the right of administration through consular and municipal offices. They held a practical monopoly of trade and the right to exploit the natural wealth in their districts. They gave loans to the Chinese government and received in exchange the forests, mines and other natural resources of China as pledge.

China was thus humiliated, exploited and partitioned. She required radical reforms. But the Manchu dynasty which had been ruling China from 1644 was quite indifferent to national affairs. Their hold over Chinese territory was very weak. Losing all hope of reforms, the Chinese people overthrew the monarchy in 1912 and declared China a republic. Thus was achieved the Chinese Revolution of 1912. The hero of this revolution was Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

China becomes a Republic, 1912

Dr. Sun Yat-sen

China's humiliation in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 convinced many educated Chinese that reform was absolutely necessary. The leader of the reform movement was Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He was born in 1866, the son of a poor peasant in a village in Kwangtung. Even as a boy he had reformist

tendencies and protested against such social customs as child-selling, infanticide, concubinage, foot binding etc. As he grew up he realised that thoroughgoing reform was impossible under the Manchu dynasty and from reformist he turned revolutionary. Graduating from the Medical College of Hongkong he gave up a promising career as a surgeon to carry on revolutionary propaganda among the students and soldiers. For his revolutionary activities he was exiled (1895) and even a price was set on his head. Nevertheless Dr. Sun built up a Chinese Revolutionary League from Japan, Honolulu (Hawaii) and Europe and organised secret groups in many parts of China for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. As a result of the revolutionary activities of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, anti-monarchical riots broke out in 1911. The rising grew in intensity until in 1912 the Manchu dynasty fell and China was proclaimed a Republic * Dr. Sun was chosen the first President but he resigned in favour of Yuan Shi-kai, a famous general of the Manchus.

§ 3. INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH

The British East India Company was founded in 1660 for trading purposes. The Company established factories and trading stations in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The confused political conditions of India after the break up of the Moghul empire provided a good opportunity to the English Company. They interfered in the quarrels of the native princes and took sides to their advantage. They had an army of English captains and native *sepoys*. In the Carnatic wars they ousted their French rival from South India. In Bengal, Robert Clive of the English Company

* The Revolution was peaceful. From 1901 there was a child emperor on the throne. The Queen-mother did not want her country to be torn by a civil war. Hence she gave up the throne on behalf of her son and accepted the Republic.

defeated its Sultan in the battle of Plassey (1757) and thus Bengal passed under the control of the Company. Seeing its political activities, the British Parliament passed an Act to regulate its affairs (the Regulating Act of 1773). The Governor of Bengal was made the Governor-General of the Company's possessions in India and he was made answerable to Parliament for his actions. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General (1762-85) warred with the Mysore and Mahratta princes and definitely established the superiority of the British power in India. Wellesley (1779-1805) followed a policy of bringing all neutral states in India under the influence of the Company by concluding military alliances, called 'Subsidiary Alliances'. Haiderabad, Mysore and Oudh thus became British allies. Under Hastings (1813-23) the entire Mahratta country passed under British control. He pacified Central India and Rajaputana. Sindh was annexed in 1843 and the Punjab in 1849. Lord Dalhousie (1848-56), adopting the 'doctrine of lapse' annexed several princely states to British India—Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur, etc.

Effects of British Rule in India

By a series of wars with the native powers like the Sultan of Mysore, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs, the British established their supremacy in India in the course of a century (c. 1757-1857). The establishment of the rule of an advanced western power brought in several changes and improvements, as a result of which India emerged from the medieval into the modern period. Several sweeping changes of a political, administrative, economic and social character changed the face of the country. The following are the main effects of British rule in India.

(1) Whereas in medieval India there were no administrative institutions worth the name, these were started by

the British East India Company on the model of similar institutions in England and suitable rules and regulations of government and the public services were framed. Under these rules a series of humanitarian measures were initiated.

(2) Following the initiative of Viceroy Lytton, a series of Famine Commissions were appointed from 1810 onwards and on their recommendations many famine relief measures were undertaken during famine years, like provision of work for the able-bodied, distribution of food or cash to the aged and the infirm, agricultural or *takkavi* loans, remission or even suspension of land revenue, etc. To prevent the recurrence of famines and to save the peasants from effects of monsoon failures, a series of irrigation schemes were formulated and a forest policy was also laid down. Between 1874 and 1900 the Agra Canal, the Lower Ganges Canal, the Sirhind Canal and the Punjab Canals were excavated. Steps were also taken to prevent the frequent outbreaks of cholera, malaria and plague. These measures resulted in a better standard of government as well as the life of the people.

(3) Special mention must be made of the introduction of railways. The first railway lines were laid by Dalhousie in 1853-56. To begin with, these were run by private companies but later the Government began to exercise control and the Railway Board was set up in 1902. The railways provided easy transport conditions and these in their turn greatly encouraged trade and industry.

(4) Following the British example, the Government passed a series of Factory Laws to ensure proper labour conditions in the mills and factories. Hours of work for women and children were fixed. Rules were framed to ensure the supply of good drinking water, proper ventilation and clean and sanitary conditions in the factories.

(5) The introduction of English education by Lord Bentinck in 1835 can easily be regarded as the greatest gift of the British to India and the most important effect of British rule. It exposed the intelligentsia of India to the influence of western thought and literature, science and political movements. In course of time it firmly led to a feeling of national unity and facilitated the emergence of nationalism. Immediately, it led to a renaissance in India, the prophets of which were men like Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen who initiated reform movements under the auspices of the Brahmo Samaj. Their successors advocated widow remarriages and intercaste marriages. The work of social reform was keenly supported by Raja Ram Mohan Rai (1772-1833), the prophet of new India. He supported western education, the abolition of sati and female infanticide etc. In their footsteps appeared Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. They were fully influenced by the western education but they were no slaves to it. They restated Hindu philosophy in the light of modern forces and greatly helped the new Hindu resurgence.

(6) The rediscovery of India's history by archaeological excavations, the printing press and the renaissance of vernacular literature under the encouragement of British rulers are some other effects, *e.g.*, the revival of Telugu literature was largely due to the efforts of an English Collector, *viz.*, C.P. Brown.

Discontent and the Mutiny

Though the British rule in India witnessed the above improvements the wholesale annexations of native states produced deep discontent among the princely classes. The conservative sections of the people regarded the rapid westernisation of their country with suspicion. The

discontent led to the great Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. The native *sepoys* rose against their British officers and killed them. The revolt, however, was put down and the leaders were punished with a good deal of harshness. The Mutiny ended the Company's rule in India. The British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1858, which transferred the Indian government from the Company to the Crown.

The Congress and the national movement

The struggle for independence in India was the work of the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885. It was at first a small body of intellectuals and reformers organized under the leadership of a retired English civilian, Allan Octavian Hume. It grew to be a movement of the masses under the inspiring leadership of Gandhi. Under the fire of increasing agitation for self-government, the British passed the Government of India Act in 1919. The Act introduced partial authority in the provinces under a scheme known as Dyarchy. Under this scheme certain matters like agriculture, education, public health and public works, known as Transferred subjects, were placed under the control of Provincial Councils, while certain other matters like finance and police, known as Reserved subjects, remained in the hands of the British governor of every province. At the Centre the British kept all power in their hands.

The Amritsar tragedy

The Reforms of 1919 left the Indian nationalist sentiment cold. The Indian National Congress demanded *purna swaraj* or complete independence. Deep resentment against the British produced minor uprising in certain parts of the country, particularly the Punjab and Bengal. Thousands of nationalists were thrown into prison. The Congress protested against British repression by calling for

a day's *hartal* or cessation of work. The *hartal* went off peacefully in some places but in some others it led to rioting. At Amritsar, in the Punjab, a large crowd which had gathered in the public square was fired upon without warning. 400 were killed and 1,200 wounded.

Non-co-operation, 1919-22



Gandhi

In 1919 Gandhi started the movement of non-violent non-co-operation, better known as *satyagraha*. He laid down many conditions for the movement. The first and foremost was that all violence and bitterness were to be eschewed. Labourers were to refuse to work for British employers. British courts, British owned schools and colleges, and British goods particularly British cloth, were to be boycotted. The movement assumed serious proportions as it spread from his immediate disciples to the masses. Local disorders and uprisings gave place to serious riots and Gandhi was horrified. He denounced violence and sought to expiate it by fasting and prayer. In 1922 the British government arrested Gandhi and sentenced him to six years imprisonment.

The Simon Commission

In 1927 a Commission under Sir John Simon was appointed to inquire into a revision of the Indian constitution. No Indian was included in the Commission and this fact enraged the Indian nationalist sentiment. The Commission was boycotted and Gandhi who had been released from prison in 1924 owing to serious illness, once again launched non-co-operation by violating the British salt monopoly

(1930). The masses at once responded and British imports into India, particularly of cloth, registered a steep fall. In spite of Gandhi's strict instructions violence broke out here and there and the government answered by imprisoning all Congressites who exhorted the people to follow non-co-operation. The prisons were filled to capacity. In 1931 Gandhi withdrew non-co-operation. He even agreed to attend a Round Table Conference in London called to discuss a new constitution based on the report of the Simon Commission. The Conference met in August 1931 and broke up in December. The delegates were unable to hammer out a federal constitution for a huge country of conflicting interests.

Lord Willingdon and repression

When Gandhi returned to India, Lord Willingdon had been appointed as the new Governor-General. He followed a relentless policy of repression. He gave the police power to arrest on suspicion, take over private buildings and transport, intercept trains and communications, and treat a political offence as a criminal offence. *Lathi* charges became the order of the day and hundreds were daily wounded. Congress meetings were rudely broken up, all Congress associations banned, its publications seized, its funds forfeited, and all its volunteers thrown behind prison bars. The ultimate result of this prolonged suffering was the issue of a White Paper by the British government outlining the details of a scheme of federation of British India and the native states.

The Act of 1935

In 1935 the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act. This gave complete autonomy to the provinces and transferred dyarchy from the provinces to the centre. The Central Government was now made responsible not to London but to the Central Legislative Assembly subject to certain safeguards.

§ 4. THE DUTCH IN INDONESIA AND INDIA

The Dutch were Protestants and were enemies of Catholic Spain and Portugal. They carried their war in Europe with Spain to the east. They knew that oriental spice trade was very profitable. In 1594 the merchants of Amsterdam formed a company to trade with the east. Other cities formed their own companies. In 1602 all the companies united to form the United East India Company of the Netherlands. At first they concentrated their attention on the Indonesian islands, the famous Spice Islands. In 1619 they captured Jakarta, founded Batavia on its ruins, and started a most profitable trade in pepper and cloves. Gradually they established their settlements in Sumatra, Java, Moluccus and all over the archipelago. In 1641 they captured Malacca from the Portuguese. Between 1638 and 1658 they joined the Sinhalese in their revolts against the Portuguese settlement in the island of Ceylon. Thus the profitable trade of Ceylon in cinnamon passed into their hands.

In India the earliest Dutch settlement was Masulipatam (1605). Pulicat was founded near Madras in 1610 and three years later a fort was built there. In 1617 the Dutch built their factory at Surat. This was followed by factories at Broach, Cambay and Ahmadabad. In the east they founded their factories at Patna, Chinsura and Kasimbazar. In the south they established their settlements at Tuticorin, Negapatam, Quilon, Cochin and Cannanore between 1658 and 1663. India produced not only spices but her raw silk, textiles, saltpetre, indigo and opium were in great demand in Indonesia and elsewhere.

The Dutch broke the Portuguese power in India. They wisely concentrated on trade. They were not interested in conversion. In Malabar they joined the Hindus in their

opposition to the proselytizing zeal of the Portuguese. They did not also interfere in native politics. But they had to yield their position in India to the English. The Dutch and the English were both strong on sea. The massacre of Amboyna (1623), in which ten Englishmen and nine Japanese were killed by the Dutch, made the English leave Indonesia and concentrate their interests on India. The Dutch, on their part, concentrated on Indonesia leaving their possessions in India to the English and the French.

§ 5. THE FAR EAST

In Africa the Europeans had to deal with simple savages but in the Far East they had to deal with a highly civilized people, who though not militarily powerful when compared to the westerners, yet deeply resented their coming. Hence they could not establish colonies in the east in the same way as they had done in Africa. They had to fight their way through hostile native country. In some cases they were able to conquer territory, *e.g.*, the French in Indo-China : and sometimes a protectorate was established, *e.g.*, British in Malaya ; sometimes stray coastal settlements and leases alone were obtained *e.g.*, Britain and other powers in China ; sometimes the empire-builders were given a sound thrashing as Russia received at the hands of Japan in 1905.

1. Indo-China

In the Far East, Burma, Siam, Annam and Malaya were independent states south of China. The conquest of Burma by the British was completed in 1886. Annam, later French Indo-China, consisted of three provinces : Tonkin in the north, Annam in the centre and Cochin China in the South. The state had been for centuries suffering from disorders and the French were attracted by

the opportunities thus afforded. Louis XVI gave a cordial welcome to a dethroned king of Annam. But Louis himself was dethroned and colonisation was not thought of during the Revolution. In the meanwhile the Annamese followed an exclusive policy and the French missionaries in Annam were either killed or expelled. In retaliation a French expedition captured Saigon, an important city of Annam in Cochin China, in 1859: Following up the victory the French established their influence in the whole of Cochin China and also established a Protectorate over Cambodia in south-west Annam. The French wanted to push up the river Mekong to the north and establish trade links with Yunnan, the southern Chinese province bordering on Annam. In this they were opposed by the natives. This led to the war between the French and the Annamese and in 1873 the French captured Hanoi in Tonkin. In 1883 they became masters of the whole of Annam. China who was the suzerain of Annam by law and tradition, at once intervened but in 1885 France and China came to an agreement over the border and war ceased. The administration of Indo-China was reorganised and reforms introduced by M. Doumer who was appointed Governor-General in 1896.

2. The Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States

The British captured Penang in 1786 and Malacca in 1795. These together with the Wellesley province, the Dindinga and Singapore comprised the Straits Settlements, acquired during 1785-1819. In the interior there were the Sultanates of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. The rule of the native Sultans was primitive; taxation was heavy; punishments were barbarous; debtors and their wives and relations became slaves to creditors; and forced labour was exacted by the state. Sir Andrew Clarke,

Governor of the Straits Settlements (app. 1875), made an inquiry into the government of the Malay States and on his own responsibility persuaded the Sultans to receive British Residents at their courts and be guided by their advice in political and financial matters. The British Government accepted the action of the Governor and proceeded step by step to secure complete control over the administration. Under the British Protectorate which was thus established slavery was abolished by 1884 and the other signs of primitive rule disappeared one after another. In 1895 the four states were combined in a Federation for administrative convenience.

3. Siam

The French who came to trade with Siam in the reign of Louis XIV were looked with disfavour by the Siamese. In 1688 there was a revolution in Siam when the anti-French nationalist party seized the government and ousted the royal family. The French were seized and transported to Pondicherry and negotiations were opened with the British Government. The British merchants were encouraged to come and settle in Siam.

In the eighteenth century Siam was involved in incessant wars with Burma. In 1767 Ayuthia, the capital city of Siam, was captured and destroyed by the Burmese and throughout this period European trade with Siam practically ceased.

When Siam recovered after her fatal war with Burma she received embassies from the British in India and free trade was established between the two countries (1826). In 1833 U.S.A. concluded a trade agreement with Siam. In 1855 a British Consulate was established at Bangkok, the new capital, to try all cases in which British subjects

were involved. In the meanwhile boundary disputes arose between Siam and the French Indo China, and the French sent two gun-boats to Bangkok to enforce their claims. This alarmed the British at Bangkok and France and Britain were almost at the brink of war. The war was avoided by a treaty concluded between the two countries in 1896 by which they guaranteed the independence and integrity of Siam.

4. The Philippines

The Philippine Islands were made known to Europe by Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. In the Seven Year's war Britain won the islands and also Cuba from Spain but restored them by the Treaty of Paris (1763).

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND AFTER

§ 1. THE FIRST WORLD WAR 1914—18

Fundamental causes

The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente powers

In the first year of the twentieth century Europe came to be divided into two camps, viz., the powers of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy) and the powers of the Triple Entente (France, Britain and Russia).

Colonial and commercial rivalry

The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente powers were fully grown nations. Each one of them was trying to found an empire and for this purpose sought the help of allies. In the race for empire Britain, thanks to her sea power, came first. The British empire in 1914 included a quarter of the world. France had conquered Indo-China and established colonies in Africa. Russia had established a vast Asiatic empire extending from the Urals to the Pacific. Germany joined the race for empire late and found that the best lands had been occupied. Still she established colonies in Africa and China and her imperial interests clashed with those of Britain, France and Russia.

Though Germany did not come out successful in the colonial race, she left the other powers behind in the commercial race. She was rich in iron and in 1913 she produced twice as much steel as Britain. Her industrial production stole a march over that of Britain. Goods marked "Made in Germany" flooded the European and the world markets. British manufacturing and commercial interests were deeply affected.

The armament race

The two rival groups of powers feared each other and began to prepare for war. In 1913 France extended compulsory military service from two to three years and other powers did likewise. Germany greatly increased the size of her army and Russia at once followed suit. The inevitable result of this armament race was war.

Immediate causes*The crises*

Between 1905 and 1914 a series of international incidents occurred which brought the war nearer. (1) In 1905 the French tried to occupy Morocco. Germany opposed it and declared that the Sultan of Morocco was an independent sovereign, in whose territories all powers were to have equal rights. France agreed to respect the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan. (2) In 1908 the Austrian emperor announced the annexation of two small states, Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Balkan peninsula. These two states were under Austrian protection since 1878. Germany supported Austria and the Entente protested in vain. (3) In 1911 the French sent an army to occupy Fez, the capital of Morocco, on the plea that the Sultan was unable to protect the lives of Europeans. Germany at once protested, and it looked as though she would expel the French from Morocco by force. Ultimately, Germany and France came to an understanding by which France was to be allowed a free hand in Morocco in return for the transfer of a part of the French Congo to Germany.

*The Serajevo crisis**The assassination of the Austrian prince*

The annexation of Bosnia by Austria greatly irritated Serbia. Bosnia and Serbia were neighbours and their people

belonged to the same race—the Slav. They wanted to unite with each other and form a big Slav state. Slav Russia supported this scheme. Bosnian hatred against Austria ran deep, and when the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, visited Serajevo, the Bosnian capital, on 28 June 1914, he and his wife were shot dead by a Serbian. This brutal murder shocked all Europe. Austria at once declared war on Serbia. Germany supported Austria. Russia was ready to support Serbia, and Germany declared war on Russia and France. The German army invaded France through Belgium. Belgium was neutral and an ally of Britain and when she appealed to the latter for help she declared war on Germany (4 August 1914). Thus the Austro-Serbian War led to the First World War.

Course of the war

The parties

Of the Triple Alliance powers, Italy proclaimed her neutrality on the ground that she was not bound to support the rest in an aggressive war. Germany and Austria stood alone. In November 1914 Turkey joined their side. On the opposite camp were Britain, France, Russia, Belgium and Serbia. Italy joined them in 1915 and the U.S.A. in 1917.

Character of the war

The war was fought on a scale hitherto unknown in history and the air was for the first time used as a field of war. The Germans first sent air ships called Zeppelins, and later aeroplanes to raid England. But those early air raids did only small damage. Another new weapon used was poison gas, first employed by the Germans in 1915. The tanks, a British invention (1916–18), were used to negotiate and crush down enemy obstacles like barbed wire fence etc., and carry destruction deep into the enemy ranks. The Germans used

their machine guns skilfully. Their high-explosive shells reduced whole towns and villages into heaps of rubble. To escape from shell-fire the soldiers in the front ranks lived in trenches. Spectacular naval battles were not a feature of this war. The new feature was the submarine. The German submarines sank many English ships and the German U-boats nearly effectively blockaded Britain.

It was a war between nations in the real sense of the term. Whole populations were involved and as years rolled on the war became one of endurance. The country's entire material resources were placed at the disposal of its leaders, who also commanded its entire man power by means of conscription. The war took a heavy toll of human lives. Nearly seven and a half millions were killed and more than double that number wounded. France, Russia, Germany and Austria lost each more than a million killed.

Stages of the war

The war can be divided into five stages.

(1) *First German offensive in the west, 1914*

Violating the neutrality of Belgium, Germany advanced into France, and by rapid marches reached the outskirts of Paris. The French drove the Germans from the river Marne to the Aisne. After this the combatants settled to a desultory trench warfare which lasted upto 1918. The Russian invaders were defeated at Tannenberg by Germany who secured the help of Turkey. Germany lost her colonies.

(2) *The German offensive in the east, 1915*

By the secret Treaty of London Italy joined the Allies. Britain and France organised an expedition against Turkey with the immediate object of capturing Constantinople but their attack at Gallipoli failed. The Germans turned east and invading Poland captured Warsaw.

(3) *The second German offensive in the west, 1916*

In the western front the Germans planned a grand attack on Verdun but failed. Rumania joined the Allies but was overrun by Austria and Germany. The naval battle of Jutland, though indecisive, proved the superiority of the British navy. Henceforth, Germany took to submarine warfare and ruthlessly attacked the ships of all nations, allied and neutral, with a view to isolate and starve Britain.

(4) *Collapse of Russia
and American entry 1917*

The failure of Russia in the war led to the Russian revolution. The Bolsheviks, who came to power, concluded with Germany the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918). In Italy the Austrians threatened Venice. In the western front a Franco-British attack in Champagne and Flanders failed. American ships were sunk by the German submarines and President Wilson declared war.

(5) *Third German offensive in the west, 1918*

After the collapse of Russia, Germany transferred her eastern army to the west and made a supreme effort to break the enemy lines before the U.S.A. could render any effective aid to the Allies. Ludendorff made many attempts to take Amiens, to reach the Channel ports in Flanders, and to cross the Marne and reach Rheims, but all offensives failed. Marshal Foch, commanding the French, British, American and Belgian forces, defeated the Germans and drove them out of France and Belgium. Germany agreed to an armistice*. Meanwhile Turkey was forced to surrender. Con-

* At this juncture, Kaiser William II decided to appeal to President Wilson for an honourable peace. In reply to the Kaiser's appeal the President suggested terms of peace based on his famous Fourteen Points, the most important of which were (1) open covenants of peace (2) freedom of the seas, (3) removal of economic barriers, (4) reduction of armaments, (5) adjustments of colonial claims, (6) national self-determination, and (7) League of Nations.

stantinople was occupied. The Italians defeated the Austrians at Piave, north of Venice, and this led to the break up of the Austrian empire. Republics were proclaimed in Austria and Hungary. Germany too passed through a revolution. William II fled to Holland and a republic was proclaimed at Berlin. The country was disarmed.

2. THE PEACE TREATIES 1919—23

President Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, representing the U.S.A., Great Britain and France respectively, met in Paris in 1919 to draw up the following peace treaties with the defeated nations, which they were forced to accept without argument.

1. *The Treaty of Versailles with Germany, 1919*

By this "dictated peace" Germany had to accept "war guilt" and was required to pay to the allies huge reparations running into several thousands of millions. To France she surrendered Alsace and Lorraine and the coal mines in the Saar basin. She surrendered West Prussia to the newly created state of Poland to provide her with a "corridor to the sea." She was also deprived of her colonies which were to be administered under a system of 'mandates' from the League of Nations. German East Africa was mandated to Great Britain and Belgium, while German South-west Africa was mandated to the Union of South Africa. Togoland and the Cameroons were divided between Great Britain and France. Kiaochow (Shantung) was mandated to Japan who however agreed to hand it over to China in 1921. German New Guinea was mandated to Austria. These mandates were supposed to expire when the mandated territories became fit for self-government.

Finally, Germany was disarmed. Her fleet had already surrendered and now her army was limited to a maximum

strength of 100,000 men. The Allies solemnly declared that they would themselves disarm in due course. But this never happened. Thus was Germany "punished, disarmed and humiliated."

2. *Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon*
with Austria and Hungary, 1919—20

Austria and Hungary separated when the emperor abdicated in 1918. Hence, separate treaties were concluded with the two countries. These treaties broke up the Austro-Hungarian empire and partitioned that empire into various states according to the principle of nationality. Transylvania belonging to Hungary was joined to Rumania, Serbia took the adjacent Slav provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro, and was enlarged into the kingdom of Yugoslavia or Yugoslavia. A new republic of Czechoslovakia was created between Germany in the north and Austria-Hungary in the south. Austria and Hungary now became two small states surrounded by Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

3. *Eastern Europe*
Poland and the Baltic states

The provinces surrendered by Germany and Austria together with some provinces taken from Russia went to recreate the old Poland. The Baltic states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which were surrendered to Germany by Russia by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918), were now restored their independence.

4. *Treaty of Sevres, 1920*
The treaty of Lausanne, 1923 with Turkey

By the treaty of Sevres (1920) Turkey was punished severely. She had to surrender all her possessions outside Turkey proper. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus Straits

as well as Constantinople were placed under the control of the League of Nations. Smyrna in Turkey was given to Greece. The Asiatic conquests of Turkey were placed under 'mandates.' Syria and Cilicia went to France, while Iraq and Palestine were placed under Britain. This treaty was overthrown by the new Turkey under the energetic Mustapha Kemal. In 1922 he marched upon Smyrna and drove the Greeks out of Turkey. France had to retire from Cilicia. A fresh treaty was now made with the Turks—the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) by which the Turks got back Constantinople. The whole of Asia Minor was recognised as Turkish.

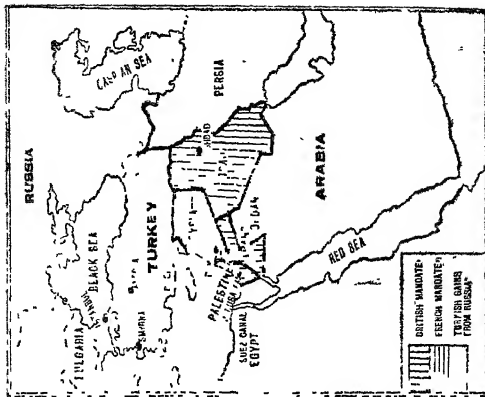
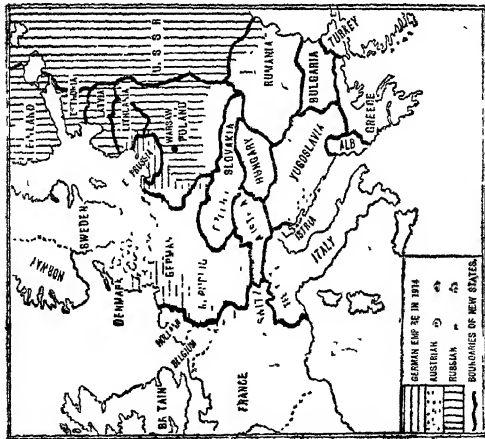
Effects of the war

Human suffering

Besides the heavy toll of eight million human lives, the war took away the economic well-being of the world. Throughout the world the production of food fell greatly. The distribution of the small quantity of food that was available among the nations was impeded by the colossal loss of shipping, the closing of frontiers, and disorganisation of the transport systems. The various nations had to ration their dwindling food supplies among their populations. The entire world suffered from shortage of food, clothing and housing, and normal life was thrown out of gear.

A political storm which destroyed autocracy and gave an impetus to democracy

The war was a big political upheaval which swept away the royal houses of Germany, Austria, Russia, Turkey and Montenegro. Out of their ruins it created the new states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia; and it totally reconstituted Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia. The new Europe after the



The Peace Treaties

peace treaties promised to be the land of democracy and peace. The old type of personal and autocratic rule by hereditary kings was buried for ever and everywhere people's rule or republic was established. Everywhere the great landowners lost their political power. The Russian revolution was perhaps the most spectacular effect of the war.

§ 3. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In the famous "Fourteen points" President Wilson proposed the formation of a League of Nations "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." The League of Nations was a real attempt at establishing world peace. The written constitution of the League was called the Covenant. The Covenant was placed at the head of the Treaty of Versailles and hence every signatory to the treaty also accepted the Covenant. There was originally 27 signatories but this rose to 48 in 1921. America did not sign the Covenant because the American Congress refused to ratify it. Communist Russia and the defeated nations were excluded from it.

The main task of the League of Nations was to settle international disputes without recourse to war. If one member nation waged an aggressive war on another it was the duty of other member-nations to take action against the aggressor by financial and economic measures and by the use of armed force if necessary.

Assembly, Council and other organisations

The main institutions of the League were the Assembly and the Council. The Assembly was the supreme organ of the League—its Parliament—and it was to meet annually at Geneva and be in session for a month. The Council was the executive of the League. All major decisions were to be arrived at unanimously both in the Assembly and in the

Council. The Council was to meet thrice a year and could be summoned at any time to consider a crisis.

Among the various sister organisations of the League, the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.) and the Permanent Court of International Justice were the most important. The former was to deal with all kinds of labour problems and work for the improvement of labour conditions throughout the world. The latter was installed in 1922 in the Peace Palace at the Hague. Fifteen judges were chosen by the Council and Assembly to preside over this court, which was to settle all disputes referred to it by the Council. The League also set up various expert committees to do social work, to deal with the problems of health and social evils like slavery and traffic in opium, to control international transport like railways and airways, improve the financial position of the war-worn countries like Austria and Germany, etc. The Mandates Committee was to receive the annual reports of the various powers who were governing the mandated territories. The Minorities committee was to prevent the ill-treatment of national minorities.

The importance of the League of Nations

The League of Nations was the result of a series of attempts made during the nineteenth century to effect a general understanding between nations with a view to avoid war. It was not a body in which only the big powers came together for purpose of mutual advantage but was a common forum for the whole world. It was a world club, or as the French phrase put it, a Society of Nations. More than fifty states drawn from the different parts of the world sent representatives to a sort of World Parliament to discuss matters of common interest.

The establishment of the League was a great boon to the smaller nations, who were hitherto forced to attach themselves to some big power. In the League they now found a friend and benefactor, whose guidance and authority they gladly accepted. Various schemes of reconstruction, rehabilitation and relief were launched and executed.

The failure of the League of Nations

The League of Nations was not a superstate or world federation. It was at best an International Club, where member-nations were given opportunity to agree and act together for common purposes. The League, in practice, had absolutely no powers of coercion; it could only suggest and persuade. Hence it utterly failed when individual nations managed to disregard it. The scheme of disarmament to which all the member-nations gave their solemn approval could not be enforced by the League. That was where it failed most. Germany agreed to disarm according to the Treaty of Versailles hoping that other nations would also follow suit. But no substantial reduction was effected by the victorious nations. Hence Germany, under the leadership of Hitler, began to arm at first secretly and then openly.

In the matter of prevention of aggression also the League failed utterly. In 1931 Japan invaded and conquered Manchuria. On the appeal of China the League ordered Japan to withdraw within a given time. Japan refused. The League then refused to recognise Manchukuo, the state set up by Japan in Manchuria (1933). Japan at once gave notice of withdrawal from the League Council. Another case of open defiance of the League was the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935. This open, unprovoked, aggressive war of one member upon another was condemned by the League which called for "economic sanctions"

against the aggressor. The sanctions thus imposed by about fifty nations were half-hearted, and essential supplies like oil continued to flow into Italy. The sanctions did not work. In 1936 it was openly said "The League is dead."

§ 4. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Fundamental causes

Czardom, an undiluted autocracy

The Czar of Russia was the unquestioned head of both the Russian state and the Russian church. His ministers and officers were entirely under his pleasure. He could order the imprisonment or banishment of his subjects without assigning reasons. As the head of the Russian church he was held in almost superstitious veneration by the mass of his ignorant subjects, who regarded him as the vice-regent of god on earth. His will was law.

In Russia the rulers formed a class by themselves. The officials and aristocrats depended for their powers and privileges on the pleasure of the Czar and for their wealth on the bondage of the peasants. The church was part of the Russian bureaucracy and was used as an instrument of repression. University and secondary education was a monopoly of the higher classes. The rulers adopted the modes of western civilisation and culture while the peasants and workers were kept in a semi-savage state.

The economic condition of the peasants

Czar Alexander II (1858-81) issued in 1861 a proclamation emancipating the serfs throughout the empire. Yet the lot of the peasants did not improve. The proclamation assigned a small plot of land to every family. Each householder was required to redeem his land by annual payments running over forty-nine years. The peasant was not entirely satisfied with this arrangement. The allotment was too small. The redemption price was too high. Taxation was

also increasing owing to wars and foreign loans. There was deep discontent among the peasants, who demanded more land and often broke into riots.

The condition of the proletariat of the towns

The growth of the Industrial Revolution created a new class, the proletariat. The discontented peasants came to the industrial towns and swelled the ranks of the workers. The capitalists made the labourers work long hours, paid them low wages and gave no attention to their working and housing conditions. When the workers tried to organise trade unions the government interfered and declared them unlawful. Thus the workmen of the towns felt that they were being exploited by the ruling aristocracy. So they quickly responded to the ideas of revolution.

Revolutionary propaganda

The writings of Leo Tolstoy, Maxim Gorky and Turgenev portrayed the hopeless condition of the peasantry. But the real ideas which worked the Russian revolution were preached long ago by Karl Marx (1818-83), a German Jew who resided in London. Marx said that capitalism would lead to an ever-widening gulf between the rich and the poor and to the unceasing and merciless exploitation of the workers by their employers. He advocated the "class war," a war between the exploited and the exploiters. Already, in 1848, he had outlined a programme of socialism in his *Communist Manifesto*, and this became the gospel of the Russian revolution.

Immediate cause

The sufferings caused by World War I

When Germany declared war in August 1914 a new wave of enthusiasm swept over Russia. All Russians were prepared to stand behind the Czar as one man in his fight against Germany. They sank all their differences, forgot

their discontent, and the Czar at once became their idol. But as defeat after defeat followed, sullen gloom settled on them. The soldiers contrasted their own poor equipment with the modern machinery, guns and artillery of the Germans. They had enough man-power but the serious shortage of rifles dashed their hopes to the ground. Unarmed recruits came to the front and rifles had to be found for them from the dead and wounded. Many soldiers found consolation in desertion. The morale of the army was undermined and the civilians became restless. They vented their discontent and anger in bitter criticism of the Czar and the incompetence and corruption of his government. Impatience increased with the deterioration of the food position. People had to wait for hours in long queues to purchase foodstuffs. The situation became very tense and some people openly proclaimed revolution.

Course of the revolution

Lenin

The Russian Revolution of 1917 occurred in two stages. The first was the overthrow of the Czarist regime and the establishment of a liberal regime under Kerensky. The second was the overthrow of Kerensky's regime and the establishment by Lenin of the regime of the workers. Both these were accomplished quietly and without much bloodshed.



Lenin

On the eve of the revolution there were in Russia several reformist and revolutionary parties. Of these the party which ultimately worked the revolution was the Social Democratic Party. It was the party of the workers. This party was, in course of time, split into two wings. The right wing believed that immediately after the revolution power

must be transferred to a middle class, and not to the peasants and workers. But the left wing believed in a worker's revolution or socialist revolution. The leader of this wing was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known under the pen-name of Lenin. He wanted to establish a socialist order at once by force. Lenin and his followers commanded a majority in the Social Democratic Labour party and hence they were called Bolsheviks or majority men, and the right wing were called Mensheviks or minority men.

The Revolution of March 1917

On 8 March 1917 there broke out a strike of 90,000 workers in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) following a demonstration of women workers. The cry "Down with Autocracy" was raised. On the third day of the strike 240,000 workers were parading the streets of Petrograd. The situation was critical and the Czar had absolutely no supporters. The soldiers whom he called out to disperse the processionists joined the workers and sympathised with them. The Czar hurried from Moscow to Petrograd but his train was held up outside Petrograd. Realising that the game was up he abdicated on 15th March.

The Provisional Government

The revolutionaries chose a Provisional Government consisting of Mensheviks and it happened to be a liberal government of moderate reformers. Alexander Kerensky, the head of the Provisional Government, made it his object to win the war. This was impossible owing to the utter lack of ammunition. Further, the Russians were war weary. They wanted to stop fighting and consolidate the Revolution. There was general insubordination throughout the country. Every one was drunk with the new wine of

liberty. The workers refused to work, the peasants to pay their taxes and the soldiers to fight.

Lenin and the Revolution of November, 1917

When the first revolution took place Lenin was an exile in Zurich. He had been exiled by the Czar as a revolutionary. At once he sought the permission of the German government to cross into Russia. They sent Lenin in a sealed train and he reached Petrograd in April. When the gathering welcomed him with delight he rebuked them by saying that they had betrayed the revolution, for they had set up a government of the capitalists instead of a government of the workers. The Provisional Government, he said, was a shame. It must be destroyed and power given to the soviets. There must be another revolution whose objectives must be "power to the Soviets, land to the peasants, bread to the starving and peace to all men."

Lenin immediately proceeded to translate his words into action. With the help of Leon Trotsky he assumed control of all the soviets and gave to the workers the slogan "All power to the Soviets." By the beginning of November the time was ripe for a workers' revolution. In a fortnight Lenin organised a secret "Red Guard," a few hundred young workers armed with bombs and machine guns stolen from munition factories. A battleship, the *Aurora*, manned by the Bolsheviks waited above Petrograd on the Neva. The night of 6 November 1917 saw the Bolshevik detachments occupy the central postal, telegraph and telephone offices, the railway stations, the state bank, the fortress, the military staff quarters and all important buildings in Petrograd. When day dawned the Winter Palace, the headquarters of the Provisional Government, alone remained unoccupied. Before evening the Palace was surrounded by a huge throng, and at nightfall some one opened a back door and the

crowd surged in. The Provisional Government was at an end. By midnight the capital lay entirely in the hands of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin proclaimed Russia a "Soviet Republic" (Workers' State) and summoned a Congress of Soviets which set up a new government called the Soviet People's Commissars (Council of Peoples' Delegates) with Lenin at its head. Then the Congress adopted three decrees submitted by Lenin : (1) immediate peace with Germany, (2) confiscation of lands owned by private landlords and their transfer to the peasants, and (3) vesting of control of production in the hands of working class committees or soviets. Lenin was prepared to make peace with Germany at any price. By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk he surrendered Armenia, Ukraine and all the Baltic states to Germany.

Consolidation of the Bolshevik revolution

The regime of Lenin was opposed by the counter-revolutionary party consisting of the old landed nobility and Czarist officers. They were aided by the British and French capitalists who had advanced monies to the Czar. They gathered an army, the 'White Army' and fought a civil war from 1918 to 1921 with the revolutionary army, the 'Red Army,' commanded by Leon Trotsky. The war resulted in the complete breakdown of all opposition to the revolution.

After winning the civil war the Bolsheviks started a reign of terror. The organisation of spies, called the *cheka* rounded up all those who were suspected of counter-revolutionary sympathies. The arrested persons were taken to a lonely spot and shot. Estimates of the actual number thus executed vary from 70,000 to 1,500,000.

The establishment of U.S.S R., 1923

Death of Lenin, 1924

The new political constitution of the Bolsheviks was proclaimed in 1923. Russia became a Federation, a Union

of Socialist Soviet Republics. The number of republics was originally four. It was increased to eleven, and in 1940 there were sixteen republics. The constitution of 1923 based the government of the U.S.S.R. on the Soviets or workers' councils of the factory, village and town. Above these local soviets, came the district and regional soviets, and above the district soviets were the soviets of the individual republics. Franchise was extended to all workers above eighteen. At the top of all the soviets stands the Supreme Soviet, which like all other soviets is elected by the people. This consists of two chambers : the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The members of the former are elected by the people from all over the country and the members of the latter are elected to represent the republics. The Supreme Soviet, in a joint session, appoints the Council of Peoples' Commissars, which is a cabinet exercising supreme administrative authority in the land.

Lenin did not live to see the full working of the new constitution. He died in 1924. His successor was Stalin, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party. In the course of fifteen years (1928-42) he conceived and executed three Five-year Plans. As a result Russia became highly industrialised. Her military might grew by leaps and bounds and she became a first rate world power.

§ 5. FASCIST AND NAZI DICTATORSHIP

Italy

Popular discontent

During the interval between the two world wars dictatorships arose in Turkey, Italy and Germany. In Turkey and Germany the defeat in the First World War and the troubles that followed encouraged the appearance of dictatorship. In Turkey Mustapha Kemal expelled the Greeks who had occupied Smyrna in accordance with the Peace

Treaties of 1919, ended the old sultanate, established his own dictatorship and by introducing progressive social and economic reforms modernised Turkey. Though Italy was a victorious nation she felt that she had been unjustly treated by the Allies, viz., Britain, France and the U.S.A. The Italians hoped to get full control over the Adriatic coast but were disappointed. They got only two small regions, Trentino and Istria in north Italy. Secondly, the people were put to a lot of suffering due to the war. They suffered from scarcity of essential commodities, high prices and lack of adequate transport facilities. The government of Victor Emmanuel III did nothing to satisfy the people.

Mussolini and the Fascist party

Capture of power, 1922

Mussolini served as a soldier in the First World War. Before the war he was a revolutionary socialist. In 1919 he founded his own party, which came to be called the Fascist party. With a view to capture power he began enlisting followers. He adopted a distinct uniform and the Roman salute, and staged colourful parades. The youth of Italy joined his party in large numbers. By the beginning of 1922 he had 100,000 followers, whom he organized into a regular army of Black Shirts with its own captains and rank and life and an iron discipline. He gave them the slogan "Believe, obey, fight." The Black Shirts silenced by force all opposition to Mussolini's leadership. The socialists and the trade union leaders came in for special punishment.

By October 1922 Mussolini had 300,000 followers. On the night of the 27th bands of Fascists seized the public buildings, railway stations, munition depots, etc., in the capital and other important cities. Next morning 10,000 Fascists, armed with sticks and revolvers, marched to Rome

and Mussolini demanded surrender of power. Victor Emmanuel III at once invited Mussolini to form a ministry.

From Prime Minister Mussolini became Dictator. He gave all important posts in the administration to Fascists and killed the anti-Fascists. Such of the common people who dared to oppose him were forced to drink large quantities of castor oil. Members of the Italian parliament who opposed him were set upon and killed by the Black Shirts. He introduced a new electoral law by which the people were asked to vote for or against a list of 400 candidates prepared by him. No citizen dared vote against the list. Thus Mussolini put down all opposition and became a dictator. He was the commander-in-chief of the army and could declare war without consulting the king or the parliament. He spread the doctrine that the State is an absolute end in itself and that the individual owes to it unqualified obedience. He rejected democracy and individual liberty and advocated war and obedience to the leader.

The achievements of Fascism

Mussolini's greatest achievement was the creation of the corporative state under which the nation's industries were entrusted to syndicates and federations, which included as its members representatives of the employers as well as the employees. These bodies elected the National Council of Corporations, the brain which planned and coordinated the entire economic life of the nation. The Minister of Corporation was appointed by the *Duce* (leader *i.e.*, Mussolini) and was responsible to him. Both strikes and lockouts were declared illegal. Under the aegis of the corporations system, agricultural mechanisation was introduced on a large scale and vast stretches of marshy soil were drained and reclaimed. Huge hydro-electric schemes were planned and executed and cheap current was distri-

buted throughout the country. Many railways were electrified. The motor car industry made great progress with state aid. Italian cars came to enjoy a unique reputation in the European markets. There was a spurt of public building—roads, bridges, schools etc. The Pope was recognised as the temporal sovereign of the Vatican state, a small walled city of a hundred acres. In 1935-36 Mussolini's army invaded and occupied Abyssinia. There was no provocation. The object was to win triumph and unite Eritrea with Italian Somaliland.

Germany

The troubles of the Weimar republic

Germany became a republic when Kaiser William II abdicated. A Constituent Assembly which met at Weimar in 1919 drew up a republican constitution with a President, a cabinet of ministers and two houses of legislature. But the new republic could not work smoothly. From the very beginning she was beset by serious economic difficulties. The richest coal, iron and zinc mines and industrial regions (in the Saar basin) were lost. Only the Ruhr region was left. Even this was occupied by the French forces when Germany failed to pay the reparations. The Germans refused to work in the coal fields or obey the French army of occupation. In 1922 the value of the German paper mark fell steeply and government money lost its value. The merchants refused to sell their goods for marks and demanded foreign currency. Thousands of wealthy, middle class and even worker's families, who had saved in marks, were ruined.

Germany recovered by concluding peace with France—the Locarno Treaty (1925)—and by means of dollar loans from America. By the treaty the two old enemies, France and Germany, agreed to become friends and Germany be-

came a member of the League of Nations. American dollars freely flowed into Germany in search of investment and German industries recovered astonishingly. New locomotives and ships with the most modern equipment were built. This restored prosperity was destroyed by the great depression which began in America and spread throughout the world (1929—32). The American capitalists, who were affected by the falling prices, called back their investments abroad and Germany suddenly found herself without capital. Many German banks closed their doors after paying their American creditors. As a result the industries suffered and curtailed their output. Unemployment increased at a terrifying rate. Even those that were employed worked only short hours and were paid low wages. Income-tax receipts of the government fell. When the government levied new taxes the peasantry were unable to pay as they were unable to sell their products at a profitable price. Thus the masses became desperate. The inflation of 1922 and the depression of 1929—32 shattered their faith in the republican system and they began to think in terms of revolution. The Weimar constitution was given up for lost. The communists wanted to establish communism. But a more powerful patriotic party known as the National Socialists or the Nazis wanted to establish a dictatorship. Under such circumstances Hitler, the leader of the Nazi party, captured power and established his dictatorship in 1933.

Hitler becomes Chancellor and then Dictator

Hitler served in the First World War as a corporal. When the war ended he became a politician and founded the German Workers' Party which became the National Socialist Party. He steadily worked towards strengthening his party and winning for it a majority in the Reichstag (the Lower House of Legislature). He carefully copied the

Fascist methods of Mussolini and with the help of powerful propaganda he increased the number of Nazi seats in the Reichstag from 12 to 230 by 1932. In 1933 President Hindenburg offered him the Chancellorship and he became the head of a Coalition Cabinet.



Hitler

Hitler next proceeded to consolidate his power as Chancellor. By threats and promises he made the Reichstag pass a law which gave the Chancellor complete dictatorial power. The law gave to the cabinet power to legislate without reference to the Reichstag or the Reichsrat (the Upper House). The Chancellor, the head of the Cabinet, legislated for the whole country by decree. In 1934 President Hindenburg died and at once Hitler declared himself President as well as Chancellor. For all practical purposes the Weimar constitution was dead. The Chancellor became the Dictator and the Third Reich or the Third German Empire was inaugurated.

Nazism and Fascism

The creeds of Fascism and Nazism were identical. In imitation of Mussolini's Black Shirts, Hitler organised a party militia of Brown Shirts called Storm Troopers with unmitigated terrorism as their dogma. He adopted the Roman salute, and for his party emblem he adopted the Swastika from India. Like Mussolini, again, he struck hard against his opponents. He designated all non-Nazis as Marxists and put them into concentration camps, where they were beaten and tortured. The Nazi party alone was

* The First Reich was the Holy Roman Empire. The Second Reich was the Germany of Bismarck and William II (1871—1918). The Third Reich was Hitler's Germany (1933—45).

allowed to exist. The Jews came in for special persecution. They were boycotted and strictly watched by the Gestapo or the secret police. There was one branch of Nazi activity that was unique, *viz.*, propaganda. The propaganda minister of Hitler, Dr. Goebbels, raised Nazism almost to the pitch of religious fanaticism. He appealed to the dramatic sense of the people by means of uniforms, flags, badges and other kinds of insignia. The Swastika banners were displayed to catch the eye and patriotic music was played to stir the heart. Hundreds of orators were carefully trained to address monster meetings and sway the masses. Over a hundred newspapers and periodicals did propaganda for the Nazi party.

The achievements of Nazism

Hitler put an end to the German federation and created a unified, centralized German state. The old self-governing states were now ruled by commissioners directly responsible to the Fuhrer (leader). Like Mussolini, Hitler established industrial peace by banning both strikes and lock-outs. He created a labour organization, called the Labour Front which was an organ of the Nazi party and which included representatives of both employers and employees. The Front looked after the welfare of the workers in various ways. It arranged sports, festivals and entertainment for the workers and even took them on pleasure tours. Hitler increased the agricultural production by encouraging scientific agriculture and tried to make Germany self-sufficient in the matter of food as well as industrial raw materials. If a particular product was not available in sufficient quantities at home he tried to evolve substitutes, *e.g.*, certain industries were asked to use glass pipes instead of copper pipes. For electrical purposes aluminium wire was used instead of copper wire.

Hitler's great aim was to wipe off the humiliation of defeat in the first war. With that object he began to enlist

soldiers beyond the 150,000 limit set by the treaty of Versailles. He built military air fields and constructed bombers. When France protested he declared that since the allied powers were not carrying out their disarmament pledges he would begin conscription and re-armament. In 1935 he introduced the conscription law by which all able-bodied Germans were to receive military training for one year. Aeroplanes were produced like motor cars on an assembly line basis. In the shipyards workers were hammering out warships days and night. The army included 2,000,000 men armed with the most up-to-date weapons.

§ 6. THE SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR

China under Chiang-Kai-Shek

The successor of Sun Yat-sen was Chiang Kai-shek. He brought the whole of China under his control with Russian help. Sun Yat-sen had concluded an alliance with Russia in 1924 with a view to consolidate the republic. The Russians helped Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek to build an up-to-date army, but at the same time they spread the ideas of communism in China. The Chinese capitalists, merchants and bankers objected to the growing influence of the communists. Chiang Kai-shek sympathised with the capitalists, but communism grew apace and by 1927 the Chinese were divided into two main parties, viz., the Nationalists and the Communists.

Chiang Kai-shek modernised China by improving transport, by introducing new industries and by expanding education but he did nothing to uplift the mass of Chinese peasantry. The poor peasant still starved and his children died like flies in times of flood or famine. The factory hand got a pittance for his wages and the rickshaw coolie ran himself to death. Such conditions greatly strengthened the hands of the Communist Party, which organised itself on military

lines. The Chinese Red Army conquered large parts of Central China and established a soviet type of Government. By 1934 the communists ruled over one-sixth of China. Chiang's nationalist government, called the Kuomintang, began to fight a prolonged civil war with communists. In the meanwhile, in 1931, the Sino-Japanese war broke out.

The Second Sino-Japanese War 1931-41

Japan had become highly industrialised but she had to import most of her raw materials. She did not possess oil and cotton and her resources of coal and iron were not adequate. Manchuria, the northern-most province of China, had all these in plenty. The Japanese rulers were militarists and were thirsting for conquest. On 18 September 1931 a small bomb exploded on the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway near Mukden. The damage done was insignificant. But this was enough for Japan. The Japanese army invaded Manchuria and expelled the Chinese forces. Early in 1932 they declared Manchuria "independent" and set up the puppet state of Manchukuo.

China preferred a complaint against Japan in the League of Nations and the League ordered the withdrawal of the Japanese forces from Manchuria. Japan replied by withdrawing from the League.

After capturing Manchuria Japan invaded China proper. Though the chief Chinese cities like Peiping, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton and Hankow surrendered to the enemy, Chiang Kai-shek continued to fight.

In 1939 the Second World War broke out. In 1940 Japan became the ally of Germany and the next year she declared war on the U.S.A. by attacking Pearl Harbour. In the war Japan was defeated, and the old civil war in China was resumed. The communists threw out Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland of China. Chiang took refuge in the island of Formosa.

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

§ 1. THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Fundamental Causes

Commercial and colonial rivalry

After 1919 Germany, Italy and Japan found themselves very much poorer in markets and colonies. Germany was much disappointed because her few colonies had been snatched away in 1919. Italy was equally disappointed because she felt she did not get enough out of the First World War. Japan had just become a world power and she wanted to have an empire of her own. These three nations felt their inferiority very much. When the economic depression of 1929-32 came on, these countries could not sell their manufactures anywhere. The result was lack of earnings and unemployment. There were many in these countries who thought that without gaining an empire they could not improve the economic position of their countries. Consequently, Japan occupied Manchuria, and Italy occupied Abyssinia and Albania. Germany began a career of expansion which began in 1936 and continued till 1942.

Growth of extreme nationalism

Although the League of Nations was formed to promote co-operation among nations, every country developed after the First World War a kind of extreme nationalism. Every country acted in a manner which would ensure its own economic self-sufficiency and national security. In Italy and Germany dictators rose to power and helped to maintain this extreme nationalism.

The problem of minorities

Nationalism and national self-determination were recognised by the Peace Treaties of 1919. In many states there were national minorities, that is people of one nationality living permanently in a part of another adjoining country. These people demanded the union of the territory in which they were living with their mother-states. Among such minorities the Germans were the most vociferous. Austria was German and there were large numbers of Germans in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Encouraged by propaganda from Germany, these Germans agitated for union with their homeland and thus enabled Hitler to put forward a legitimate claim for Greater Germany. He annexed Austria and Sudetanland in Czechoslovakia and proceeded to invade Poland on the principle of national self-determination.

*Armament race**Failure of the League of Nations*

The League of Nations failed to arrest the drift towards war. The League did not do anything either to prevent aggression on sovereign nations or punish the aggressor. The League's greatest failure, of course, lay in the direction of achieving real progress towards disarmament. Despite many conferences nothing substantial was achieved, because the allies refused to disarm as they had promised. Hence Hitler began to arm and every other nation did likewise.

The injustice of the Treaty of Versailles

The spirit of vengeance displayed by the Versailles treaty-makers in its turn made the Germans revengeful. The treaty-makers placed the war guilt squarely on the shoulders of Germany, without giving her representatives an opportunity to plead their cause. Forced to accept a treaty which to them was flagrantly unjust, the Germans felt deeply humbled

and this sense of humiliation rankled in their hearts. The suffering during the years of the economic crisis made them feel desperate. They gave their unreserved support to Hitler when he denounced the Versailles treaty.

Immediate causes

Hitler's aggressions

Occupation of the Rhineland, 1936, and Austria, 1938

Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations in 1933 and repudiated Germany's war debts and reparations. In 1935 he restored universal military service, thus openly violating the disarmament clause of the Treaty of Versailles. In March 1936 he occupied the Rhineland. This was his first triumph. Next he decided upon the annexation of Austria and Sudetanland.* He began by announcing in January 1938 that Germany would no longer tolerate the persecution of ten million of her nationals living in Austria and Czechoslovakia. In March the German troops marched into Austria and Austria was declared annexed to the Reich.

Occupation of Czechoslovakia, 1938-39.

Immediately after the annexation of Austria, Hitler made preparations to occupy Sudetanland and massed troops on the Czech frontier. The Czechoslovak government at once appealed to Britain and France for aid. Britain and France, however, approved the German occupation of Sudetanland on the principle of national self-determination. Accordingly they sent a note to the Czechoslovak government asking them to surrender the Sudetan districts to Germany in the interests of European peace. The Czech government at first refused to comply, calling the action of Britain and France "the basest betrayal in history," but later yielded

*Area in Czechoslovakia predominantly inhabited by the Germans.

when the two countries declared that they would keep neutral if the Czech government persisted in its refusal.

Hitler began occupying Sudetanland in October 1938 and by March 1939 had occupied not only Sudetanland but practically the whole of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia, created in 1920, disappeared in 1939.

Invasion of Poland and declaration of war, 1939

Axis Powers and Allied powers

After this open act of aggression Hitler demanded from the Polish government a rail-road through the Corridor to connect Germany with East Prussia. Then he made a demand for the return of Danzig. As a reply to the Franco-British anti-German alliance he concluded with Mussolini a definite military alliance in May 1939. Now Britain and France were carrying on negotiations with Russia for an anti-German alliance. At the same time Hitler opened negotiations with Russia and startled the world by announcing in August the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia.

The military alliance with Italy and the non-aggression pact with Russia made Hitler grow bolder. After a half-hearted attempt at a conference with a Polish representative, Hitler gave orders to his troops to march into Poland. The dawn of 1 September 1939 saw Nazi troops cross the frontier. After issuing ultimatums asking Hitler to stop fighting in Poland, Britain and France declared war on 3 September. On 10 June 1940 Italy entered the war on the side of Germany. In September Japan, Italy and Germany entered into a Tripartite Pact and these three formed the Axis powers. On 8 December 1941 the U.S.A. declared war against Japan. The U.S.A., Britain, France and a host of smaller and subordinate states were the Allied powers.

The character of the war

In many respects the Second World War resembled the first. In both Germany swept everything before her in the beginning but finally succumbed to the combined might of the allies. In the second war Soviet Russia was a much stronger ally than the Czarist Russia of 1914-17. The second war was more modern and more devastating in its effects. The air arm, which had just made a beginning in the first war, dominated the military operations in the second. The German flying force called *Luftwaffe* hammered allied industrial areas and destroyed factories and ammunition plants in Britain, France and elsewhere. The British Royal Air Force and the American Flying Fortresses carried retaliatory raids and rained thousands of tons of bombs on German cities. Vowing vengeance, Hitler sent his V-1 and V-2 robot and rocket bombs to annihilate the British people. Combined land, sea and air operations was another feature of the second war. In the initial stages Hitler's lightning war or *blitzkrieg* struck down six nations within a period of three months. Nazi motor cycle troops protected by the *Luftwaffe* above came like a storm and overran vast territories before the victims could recover from their surprise.

Besides Bolshevist Russia, Japan was another new power whose might surprised the world. Her fortifications and hideouts of cocoanut logs and concrete, covered with sand, defied aerial bombardment and surprised allied engineers. Her suicide squad was a desperate experiment. But her determination could not match the might of the U. S. A. When two atom bombs were dropped on her cities her resistance collapsed.

It is impossible to estimate the loss of life and property during the six years of the most devastating war history has known so far. How many soldiers were struck down dead

or permanently crippled on the battlefields, how many civilians were killed or wounded in the countless raids and counter-raids, and how many sailors were drowned along with the ships and submarines sunk or scuttled is incalculable. The casualties of Germany in the Russian expedition alone are estimated at 6,400,000 and those of Russia at 4,200,000. If the war has any lesson to teach, it is that both the victor and the vanquished are equally affected by a cataclysmic war and that the powers of the world have sufficient reason to avoid it.

Stages of the war

The war can be divided into the following stages :

(1) *German successes in Europe, 1939-40*

After occupying Rhineland, Austria and Czechoslovakia, the German troops invaded Poland. Russia also invaded Poland and on 29 September 1939 Poland was partitioned between Germany and Russia. In April, May and June 1940 Hitler's *blitzkrieg* subdued Denmark, Norway, Luxemburg, Holland, Belgium and France. Italy entered the war on the side of Germany in June.

(2) *The Battle of Britain and*

the first phase of the fighting in North Africa, 1940-41

After France the next target of Hitler was Britain. His U-boats and submarines sank several British ships and the *Luftwaffe* carried on frequent bombardments of the British towns. The British Royal Air Force made retaliatory raids on the German towns and harbours.

Mussolini dreamt of annexing the British empire in Africa. His forces occupied British Somaliland. But General Wavell defeated the Italians who surrendered in large numbers. His success in Libya made Hitler send a part of his own army under General Rommel to North Africa.

Nevertheless Wavell expelled the Italians from British and Italian Somaliland, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Italy lost East Africa.

(3) *The fateful march on Russia*

June 1941—January 1943

After capturing Greece and Crete in April and May 1941, Hitler undertook his fateful march on Russia on 22 June 1941. The conquest of Russia was regarded as a preliminary to the conquest of Britain. Sweeping everything before them the Germans reached Leningrad and Moscow. But the Russians adopted quite successfully their "scorched earth" policy, which had baffled Napoleon in 1812. Factories, bridges, railways and crops were all destroyed. An epic battle was waged at Stalingrad during the winter of 1942—43. The battle ended in a great disaster in which Hitler lost 318,000 men. It marked the turn of the tide.

(4) *The final phase of North-African fight*

June 1942—January 1943

In June 1942 Rommel captured Tobruk and victoriously entered Egypt. But General Montgomery rallied his forces and defeated the German army in a number of battles until Rommel was in full retreat to Tripoli. The British took Libya and occupied French North Africa also to prevent its fall into the hands of Rommel (November 1942). Tripoli surrendered in January 1944. The see-saw fight in North Africa ended.

(5) *Japan versus the U.S.A.*

December 1941—August 1945

Japan dropped bombs on Pearl Harbour (in Hawaii in the Pacific, belonging to the U.S.A.) on 7 December 1941 and destroyed nineteen ships of war. The next day the U.S.A. declared war. By May 1942 Japan had conquered

the islands of Guam and Wake, Honkong, Singapore, Java, Burma and the Philippines. The American offensive began in August 1942. Beginning from October 1943 the Pacific islands of Japan like Marshall Islands and Mariana Islands were taken one by one. In July 1945 General MacArthur took the Philippines. Meanwhile the islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa were taken and the mainland of Japan subjected to heavy bombing. Atom bombs were dropped in August and Japan surrendered at once.

(6) *Victory in Europe 1943—45*

From April 1942 to September 1943 the British Royal Air Force and the American Flying Fortresses dropped thousands of tons of bombs on German industrial areas. Allied invasions of Italy from North Africa was the beginning of the end. In August 1943 Sicily was taken and later Italy was invaded. The king of Italy forced Mussolini to resign. In September Marshal Badoglio who had succeeded Mussolini, surrendered. In June 1944 the Allied forces invaded France and in March 1945 they entered Germany breaking through the Siegfried defences. In April the Russians advanced from the east and took Vienna and Berlin. In the same month Mussolini was executed by his enemies and Hitler died at his post. In May Germany surrendered.

§ 2. SOME PEACE TREATIES

Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland

The victorious powers did not attempt to make the peace treaties rapidly in the course of a single conference. The preliminary plans of the treaties were discussed by the heads of the Big Five nations (the U. S. A., Russia, Britain, France and China) in a number of conferences even while the war was going on, but treaties were concluded only with Italy and the four Axis satellites, viz., Rumania,

Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. These treaties were signed on 10 February 1947. All the five treaties provided for disarmament, extirpation of Fascism and guarantee of civil rights. Italy was forced to give up her African empire: Libya, Eritrea, Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia. She surrendered the strategic Adriatic city of Trieste to the United Nations Organisation which took the place of the defunct League of Nations. She was required to pay reparations to Russia, Yugoslavia, Greece, etc., amounting to 360 million dollars. Her army was limited to 250,000 men.

Germany

To decide the fate of Germany the Council of Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, Russia and the U.S.A. met at Moscow on 10 March 1947. The Council could not agree on a common formula and therefore a peace treaty with Germany could not be concluded immediately.

For administrative purposes Germany was divided into three major zones and one minor zone. The three major zones were each controlled by Russia, Britain and the U.S.A. respectively. A small zone carved out of the British and American sections was placed under French control. The military government of the zones took immediate steps to disarm and demilitarise Germany and to purge the country of Nazis and Nazism. They also took the unprecedented step of bringing to trial the leaders of the defeated nations for alleged war crimes and atrocities, and they were condemned to death at Nuremburg on 1 October 1946. The western powers ended, in stages, their military occupation of West Germany, and today West Germany has her own responsible government and an army.

Japan

The armed forces of the Allied powers under the command of General MacArthur remained in occupation of

Japan, where the General was assigned the task of establishing peaceful and responsible government. Accordingly, he replaced the old imperial constitution by a democratic one with an elected parliament and cabinet system of the British type. The emperor became merely a titular head. The first election under the new constitution was held on 10 April 1946. Besides establishing a new government General MacArthur demobilised and disarmed the Japanese army and navy and brought to trial top-ranking military leaders like General Yamashita for alleged atrocities.

After prolonged negotiations a peace treaty with Japan was concluded in 1952 under the auspices of the United Nations. The Japanese were restored their sovereignty. The U.S.A. retained some military bases for purpose of security.

§ 3. THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

The United Nations Organisation is an international association designed to prevent war and promote peace, justice and better living for all mankind. It is the successor of the League of Nations. At first it was a body consisting of the Allies and their satellites who had fought against any or all of the Axis powers, but later was thrown open to all peace-loving nations. It may be regarded as the most significant outcome of the Second World War.

During April—June 1945 delegates of fifty nations gathered at San Francisco to produce a Charter of the United Nations acceptable to all countries. The Charter was drawn and signed by the delegates on 26 June 1945. The governments of all the signatory nations ratified the Charter one by one, and on 24 October 1945 the Charter came into full force. On that day the U. N. O. was born.

Aims, purposes and principles

The Charter or constitution of the U. N. O. opens with a preamble setting forth the basic aims of the organisation.

These aims are stated to be to save succeeding generations from the evils of war ; to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ; to establish justice and respect for international obligations ; and to promote social progress and better standards of life. Then the Charter proceeds to relate the purpose and principles of the U.N.O. The purposes are stated to be to maintain international peace and security ; to develop friendship among nations ; and to achieve co-operation among countries in solving all international problems. The basic principles are stated to be the sovereign equality of all members, that all members shall settle their disputes by peaceful means, that no member shall help any state against which the U.N.O. is taking enforcement action, and that the U.N.O. will not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

Membership

“Original members” is defined as those states which, having taken part in the San Francisco Conference, signed and ratified the Charter. The Charter actually threw open the membership to all peace-loving states. Admission is effected by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The U.N.O has now a membership of 115, including European, American, Asian and African states. They are :—

Afghanistan	Burma	Chad
Albania	Burundi	China (Nationalist)
Algeria	Byelorussia	Colombia
Argentina	Cambodia	Congo
Australia	Cambodia	(Brazzaville)
Austria	Cameroon	Congo
Belgium	Canada	(Leopoldville)
Bolivia	Central African	Costa Rica
Brazil	Republic	Cuba
Bulgaria	Ceylon	Cyprus

Czechoslovakia	Lebanon	Rwanda
Dahomey	Liberia	Saudi Arabia
Dominican	Libya	Senegal
Republic	Luxembourg	Sierra Leone
Ecuador	Madagascar	Singapore
El Salvador	Malawi	Somalia
Ethiopia	Malaysia	South Africa
Finland	Maldives Is.	Spain
France	Mali	Sudan
Gabon	Malta	Sweden
Greece	Mauritania	Syria
Guatemala	Mexico	Tanganyika
Guinea	Mongolia	Thailand
Haiti	Morocco	Togo
Honduras	Nepal	Trinidad and Tobago
Hungary	Netherlands	Tunisia
Iceland	New Zealand	Turkey
India	Nicaragua	U.K. (Britain)
Iran	Niger	Uganda
Iraq	Nigeria	Ukraine
Israel	Norway	U.S.S.R.
Italy	Pakistan	U.A.R.
Ivory Coast	Panama	Upper Volta
Jamaica	Paraguay	Uruguay
Japan	Peru	Venezuela
Jordan	Philippines	Yemen
Kenya	Poland	Yugoslavia
Kuwait	Portugal	Zambia
Laos	Rumania	

Organs

The General Assembly

The United Nations has six principal organs. They are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

The Assembly is the main deliberative organ of the U.N.O. and "the nearest equivalent yet to a Parliament of

Man." Meeting usually once a year it has the right to discuss and make recommendations on all matters within the scope of the Charter. It initiates studies and makes recommendations to member-states for the promotion of international co-operation. All member-states of the U.N.O. are also members of the General Assembly, each state exercising one vote. On ordinary matters a simple majority is decisive whereas in important matters a two-third majority is required.

On the floor of the Assembly the working and functions of all organs of the U.N.O. are brought up for discussion and criticism and this gives to it a central position in the entire organisation. It receives and considers the annual and special reports of the different organs. Thus it is an overseeing, reviewing and criticising organ.

The Security Council

Five permanent members (the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China) and six non-permanent members constitute the Security Council. The non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms.

The Council acts on behalf of the member-states, all of whom have agreed to accept and carry out its decisions. Each member of the Council exercises one vote. An affirmative vote of *any seven* of the eleven members decides the procedural matters but in the case of substantive matters decisions require *seven votes including the concurring vote of all the five permanent members*. This is the rule of "great power unanimity", popularly known as the "veto." In case of dispute the party to the dispute must abstain from voting.

As the body chiefly responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council is in permanent session and meets at least once a fortnight. It has the right

to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to war. It has the right to recommend ways and means of peaceful settlement. In the event of a threat to peace or an act of aggression the Council has power to take "enforcement" measures in order to restore peace and security. These include severance of communications, of economic and diplomatic relations and, if necessary, action by air, land and sea forces. These forces are to be provided for by the member-states.

The Economic and Social Council

Composed of eighteen member-states elected by the General Assembly and working under the authority of that assembly, the Economic and Social Council seeks to build a world of greater prosperity, stability and justice. It makes reports and recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and prepares draft conventions on these subjects for submission to the General Assembly. It calls international conferences and generally assists international economic and social co-operation. The Council has various Commissions under it to deal with particular aspects of its work, e.g., population, status of women, narcotic drugs, transport and communication, human rights etc. It has also three regional commissions, viz., for Europe, for Latin America, and for Asia and the Far East.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council looks after the interest of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories; placed under the trust of the UNO. Under the Charter of the U. N. O. the member-states administering non-self-governing areas have accepted certain obligations as sacred trust; obligations to promote political, economic, social and educational

advancements ; to provide just treatment and protection against abuses ; and to develop self-government. Accordingly such member-states transmit reports to the Secretary-General on the conditions in these territories. These reports come up for discussion and criticism before the General Assembly.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice, which is the principal judicial organ of the U. N. O. has jurisdiction over all cases referred to it by the member-states. It also gives advisory opinions on legal matters referred to it by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs and specialised agencies. The Court is composed of fifteen judges elected independently by the Security Council and the General Assembly. It functions under a statute which is a part of the United Nations Charter. It has its seat in the Peace Palace at The Hague (Holland).

The Secretariat

The vast administrative functions of the United Nations Organisation are performed by a Secretariat under the direction of the Secretary-General who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The staff is recruited from the different member-states, who bear the entire expenses of the United Nations Organisation by means of contributions.

Specialised Agencies

The Charter of the United Nations provides that the various specialised agencies already established by inter-governmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities in the economic, social, cultural, health and related fields are to be brought into relationship with the

United Nations. This is done by negotiation and agreement. These agencies are (1) International Labour Organisation (ILO, founded in 1919), (2) Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO, founded in 1945), (3) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, founded in 1945), (4) International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO, founded in 1947), (5) International Monetary Fund (founded in 1945), (6) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (7) International Telecommunications Union, and (8) Universal Postal Union. Agreements were negotiated with the first four agencies which thus became specialised agencies of the U.N.O. In the meanwhile certain specialised agencies were established through the machinery of the United Nations. These are (1) World Health Organisation (WHO), (2) International Refugee Organisation (IRO), (3) International Trade Organisation (ITO), and (4) International Children's Emergency Fund (ICEF).

The achievements of the U.N.O.

Political

The prompt and effective manner in which the United Nations intervened in the Korean war has vastly raised its prestige in the eyes of the world. A case of aggression was made out against North Korea when her forces invaded South Korea in the spring of 1950. A United Nations army crossed over to Korea to fight the aggression. This army was commanded by the United Nations Supreme Commander and fought under the banner of the United Nations. The bulk of the army was contributed by the U. S. A. Britain, France, Egypt etc., made their own contributions. India contributed an army medical unit. The North Koreans who had the help of the Chinese forces and the backing of

Russia were forced to agree to a truce (August 1953) and the fighting was stopped. The event is of great significance in the history of the United Nations.

Among the earlier achievements of the U.N.O. the following may be mentioned. In Palestine the United Nations' mediation and conciliation over two years stopped the fighting between the Jews and the Arabs. It brought the parties together, and paved the way for the final settlement of a problem which had defied the British ever since they obtained Palestine under the mandate of the League of Nations. In Europe the dangerous deadlock that had developed between the occupying powers over Berlin was ended following persistent United Nations' efforts at conciliation. Again, the United Nations forced a settlement of the struggle between the Dutch and the Indonesian republic over West New Guinea. It also helped the ending of the conflict between the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus. It is now entrusted with the task of maintaining a cease fire along the frontier between India and West Pakistan. The United Nations however has not succeeded in effecting general disarmament. No agreement has yet been reached on the control of the atom bomb and atomic energy. Yet it is a bare fact that the U.N.O. is the only way in the long run to prevent the outbreak of another world war.

Economic

In the economic and social field the U. N. O. could work with facility and hence its achievements have been many and substantial. The United Nations and its specialised agencies "have helped to improve world production and distribution of food ; have made much needed loans for reconstruction and economic development; have worked

out an over-all programme to aid and develop international commerce ; have established an international fund to help nations with foreign exchange ; have set world labour standards; regulated the world postal system and telecommunication; assured greater safety of international airways and shipping lines; and in a dozen other ways have helped to improve economic conditions throughout the world." The United Nations Regional Commissions for Europe, for Asia and the Far East and for Latin America have begun to tackle, for the first time in history, the economic problems of groups of countries which have common economic needs and interests. Countries in need have received technical assistance for economic development, assistance both for raising low living standards and maintaining and improving those that are high.

Social

In the social field the United Nations and its specialized agencies " have helped to feed millions of hungry children, have stopped outbreaks of cholera and malaria ; are working together to examine 100,000,000, children for tuberculosis and to vaccinate those who have not been touched by the disease; have repatriated or resettled in new homes over half a million refugees ; and have aided world educational and cultural progress. " To promote and improve social welfare work all the world over, the United Nations sent expert advisers to fourteen countries, granted hundreds of fellowships to social workers, and arranged for seminars and other services. It is operating a vast system of international control of narcotic drugs and the new synthetic products. It is also arranging to evolve a system of worldwide prevention of traffic in women and children and to enhance the status of women in general.

Hope of the non-self-governing peoples

The U.N.O. gives a new hope to the non-self-governing peoples of Africa and the Pacific. The administration of such territories as the Cameroons, Tanganyika or Togoland cannot any longer be based on exploitation but on certain fundamental principles detailed in the charter of the U.N.O. The Charter "determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person...without distinction of race, sex, language or region," accepts the obligation to promote to the utmost the well being of dependent peoples. Ten non-self-governing territories have been placed under United Nations supervision within the trusteeship system. The inhabitants of some of these territories have made direct appeals to the U. N. O. against specific instances of maladministration.

Replacing world anarchy by world law.

Through the General Assembly which represents the various nations of the world, the U.N.O. is steadily developing world law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an important step in the direction because it sets universal standards for governments to live up to. Again, the judgments and opinions of the International Court of Justice help to build and shape world law. Lastly, it must be noted that an International Law Commission has been set up by the General Assembly to speed up the codification and development of international law.

As the one meeting place where nations come together and work out their problems and where they can, and often do, find mutually acceptable solutions, the United Nations remains "the chief force that holds that world together against all the conflicting strains and stresses that are pulling it apart."

§ 4. THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R. IN WORLD POLITICS

Imperialism of the U.S.A. *

The Spanish American War, 1898

In the last decade of the nineteenth century every major European nation was establishing colonies and spheres of influence for herself in Africa and China. The U.S.A. got an opportunity to wage an imperial war when Cuba, a West Indian island, revolted against the Spanish rulers in 1898. In the Spanish-Cuban war American life and property suffered much and the U.S.A. declared war against Spain. In a few weeks the American forces broke all Spanish opposition without suffering a single reverse. By the peace that was arranged in Paris between Spain and the U.S.A. Cuba was declared a free country and Spain ceded to the U.S.A. Porto Rico and the whole of the Philippines.

Results of the war

As a result of the war the U. S. A. was recognised as a world power. She came to play a leading role, in future, in international affairs. In the continent of America itself she came forward as the guardian of the Monroe Doctrine. So far she had depended on the British navy for the maintenance of the Doctrine. But now she has built a navy big enough to defend the continent unaided. She also undertook the task of developing the backward areas that had passed under her control. In the Philippines and Porto Rico huge schemes of reform and reorganisation were launched. The races like the Igorots and the Moros were trained to live a civilised life. The yellow fever, which had destroyed countless lives in the tropical areas, was conquered. Finally, the war paved the way for further interference and more annexations.

More annexations

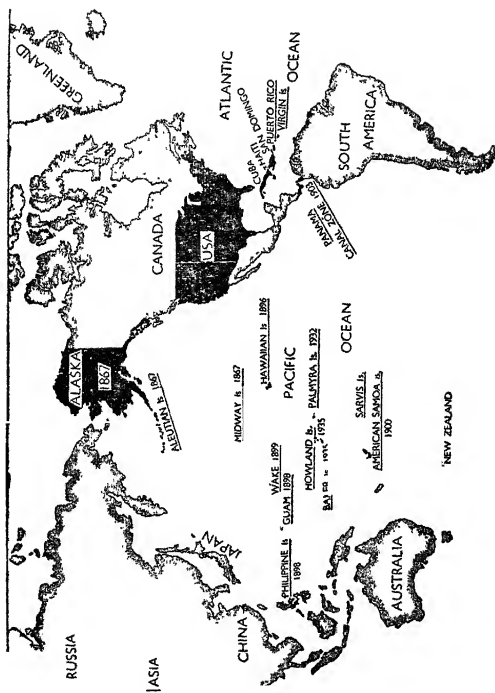
The same year (1898) the U.S.A. annexed the Hawaiian islands with the priceless Pearl Harbour, and also the isle of Guam. In 1899 she annexed Wake island. In 1900 Britain, Germany and the U.S.A. set up a joint protectorate over the islands of Somoa and the U.S.A. received all islands except the two largest and along with them the coveted harbour of Pago Pago.

Acquisition of the Panama Canal zone, 1903

The six-day voyage of the battleship *Oregon* from the Pacific coast to the Cuban waters round South America during the Spanish-American war convinced the U.S.A. that she must have a canal to the Pacific. The best route lay through Panama and hence she decided to have Panama. Panama was a province of the republic of Colombia (South America.) The province had some people who were discontented with the Government of Colombia. President Theodore Roosevelt (1901—8) encouraged them to rebel against Colombia and declare an independent republic of Panama. This was achieved in 1903. The ex-rebels, who were now installed in power in Panama, signed away a ten-mile wide belt across the isthmus to the U.S.A. The construction of the ditch was at once begun and the Panama Canal was opened to traffic in 1914.

Isolation after the First World War

After the First World War the Americans gave up their policy of internationalism. The heavy death-roll in the First World War shocked and disillusioned the Americans. They thought that they had needlessly taken part in a European war. Their deep-seated suspicion of everything European was renewed. Woodrow Wilson's decision to go to the Peace Conference in person offended many Americans



The American Empire

who thought that the President should never leave national soil. Further, there was a strong feeling of party bitterness in the country and the Republicans were doing their best to get their own candidate elected as President to succeed the Democratic Wilson. When he returned to the U.S.A. he was shocked to find that his Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations were not welcomed by the people. The Republicans condemned them. Some had a personal hatred of the President. Many were afraid of entanglement in European affairs. The American people at large were opposed to the very idea of a League of Nations in which the U.S.A. was a member and which was expected to protect small nations in case of external aggression. Wilson hastened to explain that no war would be declared without the consent of the American people. He travelled from place to place explaining to the people the object of the League and exhorting them to give their support. But the Americans were blind to the great cause. The elections in March 1920 gave a majority to the Republicans and they followed a policy of "sterile unheroic isolationism."

The Second World War

End of isolation

Isolation disappeared with the entry of the U.S.A. in the Second World War in 1941 on the side of the Allies. She has played a leading part in international conferences ever since her atom bombs brought the war to a close. Her wealth, her atomic piles and her championship of democracy and free enterprise have made her the leader of a host of countries which look up to her for financial help and security. These solidly vote behind her in any disputed question in the U.N.O.

The U.S.S.R.

Stalin, the successor of Lenin, industrialised Russia in the course of his three five-year plans (1928-42). In this period the communist dictator national-



Stalin

ised the entire resources of the country and erected giant steel plants, tractor plants and automobile factories. He showed his military might to the world in the Second World War when he defeated Hitler in the battle of Stalingrad and closed in upon Berlin before the Allies could reach it. After the close of the war Russia and the western powers drifted away from each other partly due to the difference in ideology (private enterprise vs. communism) and partly due to Russia's attempt to establish her own influence over a large part of the globe. Just as the U.S.A. has a number of satellite powers in the U.N.O. Russia too has as her satellite many states in eastern Europe. She has concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with China. Her empire extends from East Germany to the Pacific over nearly a half of Eurasia. In her military might she is equal to the U.S.A. as she too has her own atom bombs and hydrogen bombs.

As the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have risen to be the two greatest powers of the world, smaller powers have attached themselves to the one or the other so that the world is now roughly divided into two blocs, the western and the eastern. India has joined neither of these blocks and is pursuing an independent policy of friendship to all nations. Some East Asiatic states have appreciated India's stand and have kept clear of the two blocks.

§ 5. THE FREE NATIONS OF ASIA

INDIA

The Congress decided to work the new Constitution contained in the Government of India Act of 1935. In the 1937 general elections the Congress gained absolute majorities and formed its own governments in six out of the eleven provinces. In three other provinces it formed coalition governments with other parties. The Muslim League demanded participation in all provincial ministries but the Congress refused to admit the Muslim League in its ministries unless it conformed to Congress principles. This widened the breach between the Congress and the League. In March 1940 Mohamed Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, demanded that the Muslims must have an independent state of their own (Pakistan).

When the Second World War broke out in 1939 the Congress refused to give support to it. It was not prepared to fight for freedom which was denied to its own country. Gandhiji called upon all the Congress ministries in the provinces to resign.

By the end of 1941 the war on the Burma front was going badly against the British and the threat of Japanese invasion of India loomed large. In 1942 the British Government sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India to negotiate with Indian leaders, but the negotiations ended in failure. Gandhiji raised the 'Quit India' slogan, as a result of which all the Congress leaders were imprisoned and Congress organisations were declared illegal. Riots broke out everywhere.

On his release from prison in 1944, Gandhiji opened negotiations with Jinnah conceding the establishment of two states—India and Pakistan—on certain conditions. These talks also failed. In 1946 Prime Minister Attlee sent a

Cabinet Mission to India with a Plan for a Federal Government for the whole of India. This also ended in failure because while the Muslim League approved the plan in full the Congress accepted only one part of it and refused to join in the interim government which was proposed to be set up. The British government refused to call on the League to form the interim government without Congress participation. The League felt aggrieved and withdrew its acceptance of the plan. The Viceroy again called on the Congress to form a government to which it agreed. Immediately the Muslim League launched "Direct Action" and communal riots broke out in Calcutta and elsewhere resulting in considerable loss of Hindu and Muslim life and property. Eventually the League agreed to join the interim government.

In July 1945 a Constituent Assembly was elected to draft a Constitution for India. Out of its 296 seats the Congress secured 202 seats and the Muslim League only 73. Jinnah refused to participate in the Assembly with its Congress majority. It insisted on Pakistan and called on the British Government to dissolve the Assembly. The stalemate was ended by the unexpected announcement by Attlee on 20 February 1947, that power would be transferred to India before the end of June 1948 irrespective of whether the Indian parties agreed among themselves or not. This announcement made the League nervous over the prospects of Pakistan and it resorted to Direct Action once again.

To end the communal tension, Lord Mountbatten the Viceroy, after consulting the British Government, announced on 3rd June 1947 the plan for transfer of power based on the partition of the country into India and Pakistan. Meantime the Congress also had become reconciled to the partition as there was no hope of the League participating in the Constituent Assembly. Partition

was recognised as the best solution and an inevitable evil. Gandhiji gave it his approval. Accordingly the Indian Independence Bill giving effect to Mountbatten's plan was passed by the British Parliament on 1 July 1947. At a solemn ceremony at midnight of 14-15 August 1947 power was transferred to the Indian leaders in a special session of the Constituent Assembly held at Delhi. Almost all the Princely states of India merged with India. Thus India became a united Indian nation.

India's Planned Economic Development

Independent India is following a policy of planned economic development, and for this purpose has already planned and executed three Five-year Plans from 1951. The object of planning is to promote economic democracy, to make the country self-sufficient both in food and industrial requirements. Planning aims at a systematic and balanced development of the country, making the utmost use of the available resources. A survey of the existing resources is undertaken, the wants of the people are estimated, and production is so planned as to satisfy these wants. Under private enterprise production is mostly to supply luxury articles for the rich. The interests and needs of the masses are ignored. Consequently while a small section of the society is well off, the majority are in want. Again, certain costly but essential lines of production are left untouched by private enterprise. This is sought to be avoided under planning. Planning also aims at maximum production and more equal distribution of the produced wealth. The result will be improvement of the general standard of living. This is necessary in under-developed countries like India.

In communist countries there is total planning and the government controls all economic activity. There is no scope for private enterprise in those countries. Democra.

tic countries like India have adopted partial planning and confine controls to the most essential spheres. Private enterprise is allowed to continue, but the state also undertakes certain kinds of activity in the general interest of the nation. Thus in India there is private enterprise and state enterprise existing side by side.

India must be industrialised as rapidly as possible. All kinds of industries—major, middling, small, village and cottage—must be encouraged. Then only can employment be found for all people. As Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said in Parliament, “in trying to develop industry, big and small, we do not forget the human factor. We are not merely out to get more money and more production. We ultimately want better human beings. We want our people to have greater opportunities, not only from a material point of view but at other levels also.....So an integrated plan for the economic growth of the country, for the growth of the individual and for the greater freedom of the country has to be drawn up...”.

The three Five-year Plans our Government has already put through have really raised the industrial stature of our country. However the rapid increase of population is making the objective of self-sufficiency in food difficult of realisation.

Panch Shila

Under the lead given by Jawaharlal Nehru, India is following a policy of non-alignment in its relations with foreign powers. This enables her to follow a truly independent foreign policy based on *Panch Shila* or the five principles of co-existence, viz., “(1) Mutual respect for each other’s territory, (2) non-aggression, (3) non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, (4) equality, and (5) mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.”

The principles were first propounded in 1954 to govern India's relations with China, and they still very largely govern the country's foreign policy.

Pakistan

As long ago as 1925 Lala Lajpat Rai had suggested the creation of Muslim provinces both in the north west and north-east India to set at rest the recurring Hindu-Muslim quarrels. Poet Muhammed Iqbal proposed first in 1930 and again in 1939 the formation of a federation between Hindu provinces and Muslim provinces, to which he gave the name "Pakstan"—Sacred Land, or Pakistan.

Pakistan is the fifth biggest state in the world and the largest among Muslim states. It is divided into two zones separated from each other by over a thousand miles. One zone lies to the north-west of the Indian Union and the other in the east is between two of India's easternmost provinces. It comprises Sind, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and the western part of the Punjab in the west; and the eastern part of Bengal coupled with Sylhet district of Assam in the east.

It came into existence simultaneously with Independent India.

Burma and Ceylon

Burma was separated from India by the Government India Act of 1935. During the Second World War Burma was occupied by the Japanese, who in 1943 proclaimed her free with a government under the control of the Japanese commander-in-chief. After the fall of Japan the British returned to Burma and found that the independence movement had grown in strength. Having given independence to India, the British decided to give independence to Burma and Ceylon also. Power was transfer-

red to Burma on 4 January 1948 and to Ceylon a month later.

Indo-China

Indo-China was a French colony. During the Second World War it was occupied by Japan, who raised the cry "Asia for Asiatics." Her striking victories had lowered the white empire-builders in the estimation of the orientals. There was visible everywhere in Asia a new political consciousness. The first sign of the new unrest was the revolt in September 1945 of the Annamese of Indo-China, who were determined not to allow the restoration of French rule. The Nationalist party known as the Viet Nam demanded complete independence of the whole of Indo-China. The Viet Nameese established their own government and the French were forced to recognise the Viet Nam republic in March 1946, as part of the Federal Union. There was no agreement over the boundaries of the republic and the struggle between the Viet Nam and the French continued. After three years of bitter fighting the French found themselves unable to quell the Viet Nameese risings. At last on 30 December 1949, the French granted Viet Nam "complete independence within the French Union."

Indonesia

For over 500 years the Dutch remained in possession of the "Spice Islands," an archipelago of about 250 isles fifty-seven times as big as the Netherlands, and "one of the world's richest prizes." The Japanese occupied the islands during the war and just before their surrender set up an independent Indonesian government. Determined to retain their independence, the Indonesians under the leadership of Soekarno fought with the Dutch when they came to re-establish their rule. The revolt started in Java where a republic

was set up. Soekarno demanded complete independence of all the islands. In March 1949 the Dutch recognised the authority of the Indonesian republic over Java and Sumatra alone. This arrangement was not accepted by the Indonesians. On 20 July 1947 a Dutch army of 60,000 equipped with planes and tanks invaded the territory of Soekarno's republic and the Indonesians withdrew setting fire to the towns. On 1 August 1947 the United Nations Security Council called upon the Dutch and the Indonesians to "settle their disputes by arbitration." Both sides at once stopped fighting. The struggle for independence, however, continued. The republican army took to guerilla tactics and the Dutch imprisoned the Indonesian leaders. The Security Council took no effective steps to solve the problem. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of Free India, called together an Asian Conference to consider the problem. The Conference urged upon the Security Council to take decisive steps to end the Indonesian tangle and assured the Council of full co-operation. Spurred by the Conference the Security Council issued fresh directions to the Dutch, who released the Indonesian leaders. After a series of conferences between the Indonesian and Dutch representatives, power was fully transferred to Indonesia on 27 December 1949.

The Philippines

The U.S.A. acquired the Philippines from Spain as a result of the Spanish-American War (1898). The Philippines thus exchanged American imperialism for Spanish Imperialism. In 1934 the Philippines received a constitution by which they were allowed to govern themselves under the supervision of a United States High Commissioner, for a period of ten years after which they were to be completely independent. The Japanese invasion delayed this but in 1946 the Philippine republic was proclaimed.

Malaysia

During the Second World War the Federated and un-Federated Malay States went under Japanese occupation. One effect of this was the disappearance once for all of the myth of the superiority of the white man. When the British returned after the war to reimpose their colonial rule, they were met with very strong resistance. They replaced in 1946 the old system of government of the Federated and un-Federated states with a Central Union. The effect of this change was to deprive the Malay rulers and Malay states of all but nominal authority. This was resented by the Malays and the scheme was not fully implemented. Further reforms were introduced in 1948, 1951 and 1955.

On May 27, 1961, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malay proposed the formation of Malaysia. A Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee was formed to work out the details and negotiate with the British and other concerned governments. Agreement was reached on all major issues with all of them, and on September 16, 1963, Malaysia came into existence. It consists of the following fourteen states :—Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Penang, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Sabah, Sarawak, Selangor, Singapore and Trengganu.

Turkey and Kemal. Turkey paid very heavily for her alliance with Germany in the First World War. She lost more territories than any other defeated nation. She lost Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Arabia, her control over the Black Sea straits, and even Smyrna on her own mainland. Though the Turks could not but accept these severe terms their pride was stung to the quick when the Greeks crossed over to Asia Minor and occupied Smyrna, the only important Turkish port with a wide hinterland extending for over one hundred miles along the coast and into the interior.

Turkish nationalism was actively roused and the new fervour was pronouncedly anti-Caliphate as the Caliph was felt incapable of retrieving Turkish fortunes.

The new Turkish nationalist leader was Mustapha Kemal. He was born in 1881 at Salonika of Albanian parents and grew up in the military service of the Ottoman empire. As a captain in the Turkish army he fought in many wars and particularly distinguished himself by beating off the British attack at Gallipoli during the First World War. In the army he enjoyed a unique reputation for courage and correct judgment. As a youth he had studied all the revolutionary literature he came across and had as his aim two things; to put an end to the Sultan's despotism and to free Turkey from the control and influence of the Western imperialist nations.

When the First World War ended and the treaty of Sevres was imposed on Turkey, Kemal said that the treaty must not be accepted. He attempted to persuade the Government of Sultan Muhammad VI to resist the Allies and himself offered to lead the army against the Greeks but the latter were too weak and too much interested in their own security to run any risk. They appointed him Inspector-General of the troops and transferred him to the province of Eastern Anatolia to superintend disarmament operations.

Here he organised a nationalist party called the People's Party and gave them the slogan "Turkey for the Turks." The party soon became very powerful. On 23rd April 1920 three-hundred and fifty delegates from all over Turkey met and drew up a Constitution for Turkey. The assembly declared itself the sole representative of the Turkish nation and authorised Kemal to take action to evict the Greeks from Turkey as the Sultan had failed to give them a lead. Ankara became the headquarters of a parallel

Turkish government. Kemal trained an efficient army and in 1922 defeated the Greeks and entered Smyrna. Having expelled the Greeks from the Turkish mainland, Kemal prepared to drive them from the neighbourhood of Constantinople too, *i.e.*, from Eastern Thrace. When he crossed the Straits of Dardanelles with his army, he was opposed by the British navy. A conflict seemed imminent, but was happily avoided. An armistice was concluded. His next reform was to separate the religious office of the Caliphate from the political office of the Sultanate, and abolish the latter. On 1 October 1922 the National Assembly abolished the Sultanate altogether. Constantinople was renamed Istanbul. The Peace Conference which met at Lausanne in 1922 established the independence of Turkey as a republic.

Egypt. Napoleon's occupation of Egypt (1798-1801) was undertaken ostensibly to restore Turkish rule in the region but actually to sever British trade lines with India; his withdrawal was forced by Anglo-Turkish forces. Mohammed Ali, who rose to power in 1805 as Egyptian Pasha (governor) became the founder of a royal line. With growing independence from Ottoman rule the title Khedive (viceroy) was granted to Ismail Pasha. In World War I the British (who had brought Egypt under their control, 1883-1907) made it a British protectorate. Agitation by the Wafd party led to granting of independence in 1923, with Fuad I as Egypt's first constitutional monarch. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 promised eventual withdrawal of all British troops. In World War II Egypt was defended by the British; it did not declare war against the Axis until February 1945. Under Farouk I, Egypt (as member of Arab League) attacked Israel in 1948. Farouk was driven from his throne in August 1952 by an army coup headed by Naguib, engineered by Nasser. A republic was proclaimed

in July, 1953. Naguib was president until Nov. 1954, when Premier Nasser took the presidency. The constitution, approved in Jan. 1956, provided for a one-party system. Nasser was elected president for a six-year term. In 1956 nationalization of the Suez Canal brought occupation of part of Egypt by Israeli and Anglo-French forces; they withdrew after UN intervention. In 1958 Egypt and Syria joined to make the United Arab Republic. Yemen joined in 1958, but the union virtually dissolved after Syrian revolt in 1961. Early in 1963 Egypt, Syria, and Iraq began discussing plans for a new union. Egyptian industry and agriculture were largely nationalized in 1962. Egypt looked to the USSR for aid, especially in building Aswan High Dam, whose completion was to extend arable land by about 30 percent.

Middle East. The countries from North Africa to the border of India are collectively called the Middle East, because they occupy a middle position between the East and the West. These include Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Turkey—all members of the Central Treaty Organisation.

Iran, popularly known as Persia, fell under increasing pressure of the European nations in the 19th century. Between 1907-19 the country was divided into British and Russian spheres of influence. An agreement concluded with Great Britain in 1919 ambiguously affirmed Iran's independence. The Russians withdrew from the country in 1921. Reza Shah Pahlevi founded a new dynasty in 1925, but he was forced to abdicate in favour of his son Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi by the British and the Russians who again occupied the country during World War II. The foreign troops withdrew in 1946. Mossadegh became premier in 1951, and under the influence of intense nationalism he nationalized the British owned oil industry. This brought about stoppage of oil production and breaking

of relations with Britain. Economic strain brought about the downfall of Mossadegh. In 1954 the oil industry was reopened and this brought great prosperity to the country. The Shah distributed crown lands to the peasants and land reform bills were passed in 1962 and 1963. Social reforms were also introduced.

Iraq. Iraq supported the Allies in World War I, after which it remained a British mandated territory till 1932. Pro-British elements controlled Iraq at the outbreak of World War II, but when Britain lost Middle East territory nationalism gained strength. In 1943 it declared war on the Axis powers. In July 1958, Abdul Kareem staged a military coup and founded a republic. It abandoned membership of United Arab Republic and withdrew from the Middle East Treaty Organisation. In 1963 another army coup led by Col. Abdul Salam Aref overthrew Kassem. The new regime sought closer ties with Egypt and Syria and was more staunchly anti-communist.

The United Arab Republic consisting of Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic (Egypt) and Yemen was created in 1958. It is the successor to the Arab League formed in 1945 to bring about cooperation among the Arab states. It was the chief instrument of joint Arab action in the war with Israel in 1948. Egypt dominated the League till 1954.

CHAPTER XI

CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM AND LABOUR MOVEMENT

The two great socio-economic consequences of the Industrial Revolution were the development of capitalism and socialism and the growth of the labour movement.

Capitalism is derived from the word 'capital'. It is a system based on private property, freedom of enterprise, freedom of choice and profit motive. The profit motive is the essence of capitalism. Private ownership of the means of production and freedom of enterprise enable individuals employ resources in the most profitable manner. The capitalistic system is based on legal safeguards and guarantees. The laws of the country guarantee the right of the individual to own property. Owners of property and wealth are given the freedom to use their resources in any manner they prefer, provided it does not conflict with the laws of the country.

Capitalism has contributed to the remarkable progress of free enterprise in countries like the United States of America, Canada, the United Kingdom and Japan.

Socialism is the opposite of capitalism. It is based on public ownership and control of means of production. It attempts to remedy the evils of capitalism by the gradual socialisation of wealth. It is based on justice and fairplay. It aims at eliminating inequalities of income and wealth.

The public sector (government) occupies an important place in socialistic economies whereas in capitalistic countries the private sector is given a leading role. The public sector is called upon to implement the socialistic policies in order to establish a welfare state. The central thesis of socialism is that the public sector alone can give a purposeful direction to the economy.

Labour movement

In the early days of the Industrial Revolution the workers in factories suffered from several evils. They were underpaid ; they were made to work for long hours every

day ; there were no rest periods or holidays. Women and children were made to work in the factories under the same conditions. The factories were ill-ventilated and insanitary. The workmen lived in slums in most unhealthy surroundings. The capitalists were intent only on making profit. They did not care for the welfare of the workmen. The Government pursued a policy of non-interference.

Slowly, public opinion was roused to the iniquities of the factory system and public-spirited men took up the cause of the unfortunate workers and roused the conscience of government to improve their conditions. A series of Factory Acts were passed, regulating hours of work, conditions of work, wages etc. All these went a long way to improve the conditions of the workers. At the present day, governments are keen to protect the working classes in every way by providing them social insurance covering every aspect of their life.

The workmen too became conscious of their rights, to enforce which they formed themselves into Unions. Through these unions they fought to improve their conditions. The Trade Unions of today are strong and powerful bodies. It took them a long time to reach this stage. Each industry has its own Trade Union with lakhs of members. The working classes are well organised in the modern day and by means of strikes they can paralyse the industrial activity of a country.

Social insurance is a collective or cooperative method of protecting individuals against the chief risks of life. It protects the workers against unemployment, sickness and old age. All advanced countries provide social insurance to their people. Old Age Pensions, National Health Insurance, Workmen's Compensation are some of the benefits conferred on workers in the modern day by almost all countries.

QUESTIONS

What is meant by the Industrial Revolution? What were its effects?

2. Trace the life and work of Napoleon Bonaparte.
3. Mention the important landmarks in the freedom movement in India.
4. Sketch the course of the French Revolution.
5. Survey the main currents in the political history of Asia since World War II.
6. Sketch the development of the Chinese Republic under Sun-Yat-Sen and Chiang-Kai-Shek.
7. Write short notes on the following :—
(a) Simon Bolivar (b) David Livingstone
8. Give an account of Russia under Peter the Great.
9. Mention the events leading to the War of American Independence.
10. Outline the main stages in the Indian struggle for freedom.
11. Write short notes on the following :—
(a) The Congress of Vienna (b) Mussolini
12. What are the aims of U.N.O.? How far have they been fulfilled?
13. Write short notes on the following :—
(a) Frederick the Great (b) The American Civil War (c) The Russian Revolution of 1917 (d) Fascism.
14. Estimate the services of Louis XIV to France.
15. Write short notes on the following :—
(a) The Monroe Doctrine (b) The Atlantic Charter.
16. Give an account of the effects of British rule on India.
17. Trace the course of the rise and fall of Japanese imperialism in the present century.
18. Outline the main features of the present foreign policy of the U.S.A.
19. Write short notes on the UNESCO.
20. How did Prussia become a great European power under Frederick the Great?

21. Sketch the history of the Civil War in the U.S.A.
22. Summarise the achievements of the U.N.O. ever since its formation.
23. Write short notes on the following.
(a) The Revolution of 1848 (b) Lord Dalhousie
(c) The Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71 (d) Fascism (e) The Partition of India.
24. Summarise the history of the political unification of Italy in the 19th century.
25. Write short notes on the following :—
(a) Bismarck (b) Nazism.
26. Sketch the history of the growth of Spain as a nation state.
27. Account for the outbreak of World War I. What were its effects on Europe?
28. Write short notes on the following :—
The Dutch in Africa; The Sino-Japanese War.
29. Account for the Russian Revolution and point out its results.
30. Write short notes on the following :—
(a) The Eastern Question (b) Mazzini (c) The Philippines.
31. Explain the circumstances that led to the formation of United States of America as an independent state.
32. Trace the stages by which Egypt and the Sudan were brought under the control of Britain.
33. Outline the role of the League of Nations and account for its failure.
34. Give brief accounts of the rise of independent states in Asia after World War II.

